Journal of Local Administration Overseas

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Editor's Notes 1

University Teaching in Local Government and Administration *by A. F. Leemans* 3

Local Government Training in Zambia *by P. L. Taylor* 11

The Staff Development Centre, Kaduna *by J. H. Smith* 19

Training for Localisation of the Public Service in Malawi *by M. J. Bennion* 23

Rural Improvement by Communal Labour in the Bombali District of Sierra Leone—A Case Study— *by P. S. Mould* 29

A Study of Panchayat Elections *by K. Seshadri* 47

The Evolution of Local Administration in French-speaking West Africa *by T. G. Brierly* 56

Quarterly Notes 72

Book Reviews 79

Other Books Received 83

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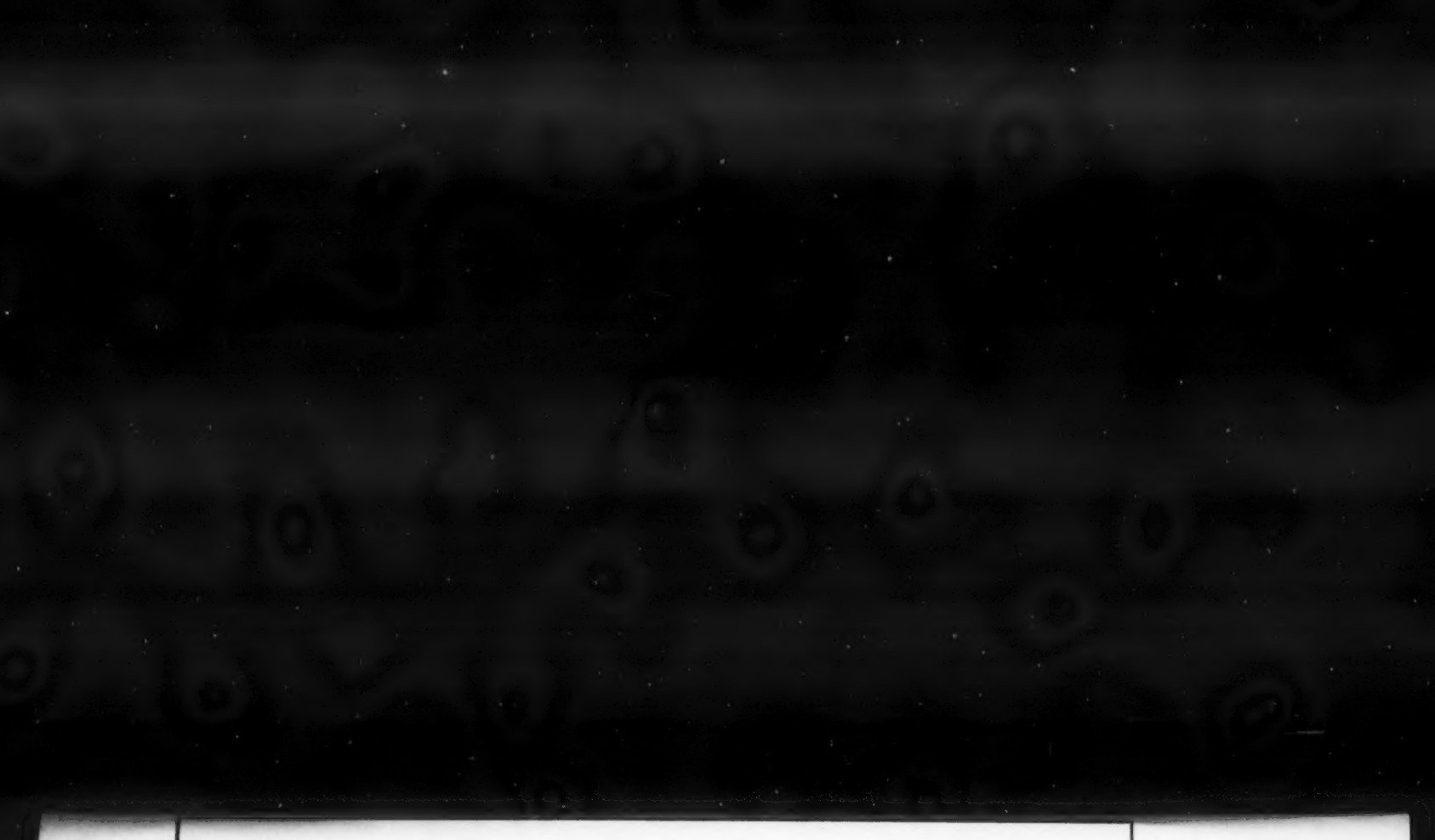

JOURNAL OF
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OVERSEAS

Volume V · Number 1 · January 1966

Editor's Notes

In this issue of the *Journal* we publish four articles, each on a different aspect of training for administration, a topic which is receiving increasing if belated prominence, especially in the more recently independent countries where there is much leeway to make up in training administrators and technicians for both the public and private sectors. Whereas it is widely accepted that professional and highly skilled personnel must be employed from whatever country it may be obtained, in such services as the administration, clerical, police, prisons and banking the shortage is aggravated by emotional factors which inhibit governments from employing expatriates if this course can be safely avoided. Naturally the people of a country do not wish to see their security forces manned by people who are now sometimes rudely referred to as mercenaries, their baggage examined by expatriate customs officers, and perhaps their bank accounts handled by persons whom they regard as foreigners. So in this type of post there is an urgent demand for localization, which can only be met adequately by intensive training. Thus, in the new independent countries localization of the administrative, executive, clerical grades, and of other branches of the public and private sectors must be accelerated on independence. One of the earliest manifestations of the independent status is a rapid diminution of the number of expatriates employed and the promotion in their stead of local persons into jobs for which they lack experience, and frequently educational qualifications. There often follows a marked reduction in quality, particularly in the lower echelons.

In the higher ranks the main weakness is usually inexperience. Colonial administrators often took twenty to twenty-five years to reach top rank but the new permanent secretaries and their equivalents have normally had far less service. There is, therefore, an urgent need for some form of senior staff training especially tailored to meet this situation, not only for civil servants but also for those employed in commerce and industry. In East Africa this need has been met by senior staff college courses specially designed for senior employees in both the public and private sectors.

In the lower and middle ranks there is also an urgent need to provide regular courses to enable skills to be acquired in the least possible time. These courses must be complemented by inservice training, as only by doing the work and accepting responsibility for it can trainees gain the confidence and experience which is so essential.

If the developing countries are to attract the professionals and technicians whom they cannot supply from their own resources, they will only be able to

do so provided that the ancillary services are functioning efficiently. Without them doctors, engineers, veterinary officers and other fully qualified professionals will waste much of their time and may be harder to recruit. The training of medical orderlies, works foremen, assistant veterinary officers is thus of great importance.

Training in all these forms and in many others must loom large in the programme of any developing country. It must take into account not only immediate needs, but also the future. The success of development plans as well as other facets of good government depends largely on good administration at all levels and good administration depends to a great extent on sound and adequate training. That is why this *Journal* is devoting so much space to this subject.

This issue also contains an article relating to French administration. Mr. Brierly describes the evolution of local administration in French speaking West Africa; his detailed research provides a most interesting comparative study and a wealth of carefully analysed information about the former French Colonies.

Mr. P. S. Mould in a case study on Rural Improvement by Communal Labour in the Bombali District of Sierra Leonne, sets out in some detail how the people of that district have used their spare time to develop and improve their community.

Another Cambridge Conference has come and gone, with a bang, as someone said. This was the fifth to be sponsored by the Overseas Studies Committee of the University; the fifth to be chaired by Dr. Ronald Robinson, D.F.C., the ebullient Fellow of St. Johns, and the fifth of the so-called development decade. So the Conference was asked to look back over the past five years and to discuss how to overcome obstacles to development.

We make no apology for mentioning this, because some of the obstacles were found in Local Government Overseas, indeed in the shortcomings of administration, here and there, up and down the scale. Not that the conference was concerned with picking holes but rather with suggesting how best to darn some of those already apparent. But all this and more will appear in the printed report which will soon be available. Meanwhile we include in our Quarterly Notes some reflections on the Conference written by four distinguished participants, Mr. S. S. Khera, Professor A. H. Hanson, Mr. Nuri Eren and Dr. Hans Singer. Also, with permission we publish an extract from *The Economist* giving the impressions of a revered contemporary.

* * *

New Title: With effect from the April 1966 issue, the name of the *Journal* will be changed to *Journal of Administration Overseas.*

University Teaching in Local Government and Administration

by A. F. Leemans

It would be presumptuous to pretend that a description of the teaching of local government and administration and their various aspects, at the university level, could cover the full ground, or present a picture of the situation in all countries. Technically, it is very difficult to obtain information from all countries, let alone full and reliable information, and materially, it would be of little use to give such a full picture, unless it could aim at being a complete inventory. This article only presents the main trends in a number of countries in different areas of the world, including those that are the most advanced in this respect. Even in this respect, the author does not pretend that the article can be considered as being fully representative, as he would have liked to include several countries on which no information was available. He has also refrained from giving statistical data on the various countries (with a few exceptions), as in many cases such data is not complete.

A survey of the development and present situation of university teaching of local government and administration would be based on weak grounds if it did not indicate the place of this subject in university teaching in general. Its development followed very much the same course as, and in fact followed in the wake of, university teaching of government and administration. On the European continent at the end of the last century, emphasis with regard to the teaching of government was placed very strongly on the legal aspects. In Germany, this was partly a result of the 'Rechtsstaat' theory, which gained much ground in that country during the 19th century; in France, the Conseil d'Etat played a dominating role in the nature of the university teaching of government and administration. The French, and to a lesser degree, the German approach strongly influenced the teaching of government and administration in other European countries and even outside Europe, particularly in Latin America. One reason for a certain reluctance to include public or local administration in university programmes was the consideration that this subject should be learnt on the job and is therefore more suitable for post-entry training.

The legal approach held sway at European universities until just after the Second World War, and even now is still widely practised, and often predominant. Since 1945, however, there has been a gradual but steady change, mainly under the influence of American universities, particularly in the following aspects:

(*a*) less emphasis was placed on the legal aspects of government and administration; and

(*b*) more attention was given to the practice of government and administration.

This situation at the universities also determined the place occupied by local government and administration in their teaching. Almost invariably, it was

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given as a part of such subjects as constitutional or administrative law, and very often it was given only little attention. Local governmental law could often be studied as an optional subject, but it was, and is, far from being popular.

In the United States of America, political science and public administration were much earlier introduced as general subjects of university teaching. Public administration developed there as a subject of study, and also of teaching, in the latter part of the 19th century. The approaches were mainly from the political science and scientific management points of view. Local government and administration found their place in some university curricula as early as the turn of the century. Corrupt city government and the deplorable state of municipal government and administration caused great concern amongst educated people interested in this field. There was a lack of confidence in the purely democratic form of government of cities, as it was understood at that time. The system of an expert administrator as chief executive (city manager) was conceived, and spread rapidly. As a result of the increasing interest in adequate city government, and the realization that city government would benefit greatly from properly trained people, local government and administration were introduced into many university programmes, generally under the political science department. Teaching of local government and administration and related subjects has since developed enormously, and has not yet come to a halt.

In other countries, rapid changes have taken place since the second world war, and the desire has been almost universally expressed for more attention to be given to local government in the widest sense of the term. This is even true for the U.S.A. This article can therefore only try to give a time exposure.

The use of the words 'university teaching' above, and again further on in this article, suggests agreement on what should be understood by the term. This is far from true. Even in one particular country, disagreement is often rife as to whether education at certain institutions or schools should be considered as university education – or at least equal to it. In an international survey, the demarcation line between university education (generally including a great deal of theory) and advanced vocational training (more practically oriented) is even more difficult to draw. The data in this survey has been mainly confined to recognized universities or schools and institutes attached to universities, where education is given as a more or less coherent part of the general university framework.

A number of factors influence the extent of university teaching of local government and administration and their various aspects. Above, some factors have been mentioned that are related with the general development of the teaching of political science and public administration at universities in different countries. Other factors include:

1. The importance of local government in the country concerned. It is interesting to investigate the extent to which influence is exercised by the importance and development of local government. There are cases that seem to indicate a certain relationship between this factor and the measure of teaching of local government at universities; other cases seem to indicate the absence of such a relationship. It is striking, for instance, that in countries such as Sweden and the Netherlands, which are well known for their advanced

systems of local government, the subject is given only little attention at universities. On the other hand, it is not surprising that local government and administration in France generally forms part of other university subjects, particularly of public law.

The lack of influence by the position of local government on university teaching in some countries, however, seems to find its roots largely in the traditional structure of university education and the non-flexibility of university curricula. This is very evident when the study programmes of European and American universities are compared.

A number of countries can prove the relationship between the attention given to development of a strong local government, and the university teaching of the subject, particularly those countries that are establishing a new framework of internal administration, mainly the new countries of Africa and Asia. Local government is a regular subject of teaching at many universities in the developing countries, particularly in those that used to be under British rule and where, prior to Independence, local administration was a subject of constant concern of the government, and also one of constant reform. Examples of such countries are India, Nigeria, and the Sudan. An outstanding position in this respect among countries outside the British Commonwealth, is formed by the Philippines. On the other hand, in former French territories where local administration was generally just a part of the central administration, the teaching of local government is dealt with only as a part of other subjects such as public law, in accordance with the pattern at French universities.

In the light of the above, it is interesting to note that in Yugoslavia, where local government is under continuous reform and is becoming increasingly independent from State interference, the teaching of the subject is generally recognized at universities.

2. The formal or actual requirements for leading positions in local administration.

It is evident that, if a university degree is required for top positions in local government, this will promote the teaching of elements of local government at universities. Our enquiry has shown that, with a few exceptions, no formal (or legal) requirement of a university degree exists. This naturally excludes certain positions where the necessity of a degree is obvious, such as the head of a municipal health service who in some countries is required to have a medical degree, or the head of the public works department, who is sometimes required to be an engineer. An exception to this rule, in a sense, is the French prefect, who is required to have the diploma of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, a special institute for high government officials, that provides education that can be considered as being of a post-graduate level, and includes one year of field work in a prefecture or government department.

In spite of this lack of formal requirements, it can safely be assumed that in the great majority of the larger and more important municipalities or other local units in most countries of Europe and North America, most of the chief executives and department heads hold university degrees. Statistical data on this matter is scanty, but the table on the education of municipal executives in the U.S.A. in 1961 may serve as an example.

TABLE 1

Graduate degree fields of municipal executives

Group	*Per cent. of executives with grad. degrees*	*Law*	*Other social sciences*	*Business administration*	*Public administration, municipal or local government administration*	*MPH hospital administration*	*Medicine, etc., and sciences*	*Engineering*	*Planning and architecture*	*Political science and government*	*Accounting and economics*	*Other*
ALL EXECUTIVES	25%	32%	19%	4%	7%	8%	11%	8%	4%	3%	2%	2%
MANAGERS, CAO's ...	32	7	0	13	60	0	0	13	7	0	0	0
DEPARTMENT HEADS ...	27	33	21	4	4	7	11	7	6	3	2	3
DIVISION HEADS	22	31	20	3	4	11	15	9	2	2	2	3
DEPARTMENTAL HEADS												
Personnel	27	29	21	7	14	0	0	0	0	14	14	0
Planning	36	10	0	5	5	0	0	5	65	5	5	0
Parks-Recreation ...	21	10	60	0	0	0	10	0	10	0	0	10
Finance	16	52	5	14	10	0	5	0	0	5	10	0
Health	73	0	3	3	0	47	47	0	0	0	0	0
Public works	11	39	0	0	0	0	4	57	0	0	0	0
Public safety	7	67	11	0	0	0	22	0	0	0	0	0
Welfare	42	7	71	7	7	0	7	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 2

Education of Municipal Executives in the U.S.A. (1961)

	Bachelor's Degrees			Graduate Degrees		
	All Cities	*Over 250,000*	*Under 250,000*	*All Cities*	*Over 250,000*	*Under 250,000*
All Executives ...	59%	63%	49%	25%	30%	18%
Managers-CAO* ...	86	82	89	32	29	33
Department Heads	60	68	50	27	34	19
Personnel ...	73	68	87	27	30	20
Planning	84	85	82	36	42	27
Parks-Recreation	72	84	64	21	32	14
Finance	45	52	36	16	20	11
Health	85	100	72	73	91	56
Public Works ...	56	61	48	11	16	4
Public Safety ...	21	33	11	7	13	3
Welfare	81	86	67	42	55	11
Division Heads ...	55	61	37	22	26	12

The distribution of graduate degrees among municipal executives according to their field of studies, is shown on opposite page.

These tables show that the chief executive (city manager and administrative officer) ranks highest on the list as far as the Bachelor's degree is concerned, and among the highest in the graduate group. 60 per cent. of these executives have a degree in public or municipal administration or local government and administration.

In 1962 among the forty-five city managers in Finland, thirty-five had a university degree. Out of the one hundred and seven municipal managers (rural municipalities) twenty-four had a degree; out of four hundred and two city and municipal secretaries, twelve had a university degree and one hundred and forty-five a degree from the College of Social Sciences (see below).

According to the French estimates, approximately three-quarters of the secretaries (general) of the larger municipalities in that country hold university degrees, usually in law.

3. A third factor is the interaction between theory and academic studies on the one hand, and practice and practical research on the other.

In this respect, there is a marked difference between countries of the European continent and the United States. Social science departments of European universities have been inclined to adhere to theory. As local government and administration were considered to be very much of a practical character, a place could hardly be found in university curricula except as a (rather unimportant) sub-item of constitutional or administrative law or government institutions, and, later, sometimes of sociology. Universities and their staffs engaged very little in studies in the sphere of local government and administration. Since the Second World War, however, a gradual change is being introduced towards the situation existing in the U.S.A.

In the U.S.A., there has long been a strong interaction in the social sciences between theory and practice, between universities and government. There are

* Chief Administrative Officers.

several causes for this situation, but they are outside the scope of this article. American universities have always been more oriented towards actual practice, and have therefore traditionally included practical subjects in their university curricula. This made it very natural for them to include aspects of local government, local community, local planning, etc., in their study programme. Moreover, they have been considerably interested in research in the local sphere.

4. Related somewhat to point three is a final factor, namely, the flexibility of university programmes. In the European situation, where required subjects of study for a degree are often fixed by a national law, the scope of choice of subjects is limited. The situation is very different in the U.S.A. As an example, we quote from a leaflet on the graduate study in political science at the University of Wisconsin:

> "Although responsibility for public administration is mainly centred in the political science department, many other departments, schools, and colleges within the university family – commerce, economics, education, and sociology, to name only a few – are actively associated with the political science department in teaching and research in governmental administration. Courses and seminars are frequently cross-listed and taught by groups of faculty members from various disciplines. No-one has ever counted the number of courses offered in public administration and related areas, but even a casual inspection of the Graduate School Bulletin reveals that the number and variety are large. Moreover, various special areas of interest to the student of administration have been developed within recent years."

This quotation underlines two features which are interesting as regards the American system of university teaching, and are helpful in promoting the incorporation of several elements pertaining to local government and administration in the programme of studies. Firstly, the extensive opportunity to select a study programme of subjects all related to local government and problems of a local community. Secondly, the continuous introduction of new subjects required by practice.

An analysis of the teaching of local government in various countries of the world shows that local government and administration and other subjects pertaining to the local community, such as local finance, town and country or urban planning, urban sociology, etc., figure, with few exceptions, only seldom in the curricula of universities, at least, not in the compulsory curricula.

A special programme of studies, devoted largely or almost entirely to local government and administration, is even more rare. Among countries that deserve to be mentioned in this respect are Finland, the Philippines, the U.S.A., and Yugoslavia.

It should be noted, however, that the absence of local government and administration as a special subject in university curricula does not mean that considerable attention may not be given to it in other courses. In several countries, local government law, for instance, is an important part of public law. The same applies to several other subjects, such as governmental institutions in studies of political science.

As we have stated above, correspondents from almost all countries, even including those where there is a considerable amount of university teaching on the subject concerned, expressed the desire that teaching as well as research on subjects relating to the local community should be augmented. Recent years have shown an increase, and many countries have plans for further extensions. This frequently goes hand-in-hand with the introduction of public

administration as a university subject (sometimes even as a separate department or institute) or the setting-up of a political science department.

It can be expected, therefore, that these subjects will continue to receive increasing attention at universities in all parts of the world.

A few examples are given below of countries in which relatively a great deal of attention is given to local government at the university level. No data is given on the United States, although this country is by far the most advanced in this field; the January, 1965, issue of this *Journal* contained an article on Training for Local Government in the United States by Hugh G. MacNiven, who gave a broad survey of the subject. Among those countries in Europe which deserve special attention are Finland and Yugoslavia, and in Asia, the Philippines.

In Yugoslavia, where local government[1] has traditionally been part of the courses on constitutional and administrative law, the reform brought about in law studies in recent years has introduced three levels of degrees. The programme for the second degree, which is the normal university programme equivalent to the programme for the Master's degree, includes at some universities the communal system as a particular subject or as part of such subjects as administrative law and public administration. The study of the communal system includes aspects of political philosophy, general history, history of political ideas, and economics. In the third degree programme (post graduate) the emphasis is placed on the communal system and economics of the communes.

The Advanced School of Public Administration at Zagreb, of the second degree level and forming part of the University of Zagreb, includes the communal structure as a compulsory subject, in addition to administrative systems, in which local government and administration are taught on a comparative basis. The communal structure explores the historical development of the idea of the communal system as a political notion, and the relationship between communes and the local social and political structure.

Moreover, Yugoslavia has a number of specialized schools of administration which are of the first degree university level. One of the three main orientations of these schools is communal administration. The Faculty of Political Science of the University of Zagreb deals with aspects of the communal system (politics and administration) as part of several of its subjects, such as: the development of socialism, the social and political structure of Yugoslavia, political systems (comparative approach), and social management.

The newer universities (Faculties of Law at Split, Novi Sad, Niš, etc.), have included courses on the communal system in their general curricula from the time of their inauguration.

In Finland, the Social Sciences Faculty of the College of Social Sciences at Tampere gives communal policy as a major subject, both for the first academic degree (4 to 5 years' study leading to the degree of Bachelor of Social Sciences), and for the higher degrees (Master and Doctor of Social Sciences). This major subject represents rather less than half of the entire examination. Municipal policy can also be selected as a minor subject when economics, political science or social policy is taken as a major. The municipal policy curriculum includes municipal law, municipal administrative practice, history of government, and

[1] In Yugoslavia the term 'communal system' is used in preference to that of 'local government'.

municipal economy. Since 1962, it is also possible to select municipal economics as a minor subject.

Moreover, the College of Social Sciences has a programme in municipal administration, including two years' college work and one year in-service training, leading to the title of Socionomist. This is a vocational training programme, and a successful examination is generally the qualification for appointment as Town Clerk or Municipal Secretary. There are plans for raising the standard of this examination in municipal administration. Moreover, a proposal has been made for broadening and upgrading the study programme at different levels. A higher municipal examination requiring four years of study has been suggested. Teaching in some special fields (including regional and town planning) will be intensified.

In the Philippines, a considerable amount of teaching is done on local government at the university level. Aspects related to local government and administration are taught in different Departments at varying levels. In the field of political science, the curriculum for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, with a major in Political Science (College of Arts and Sciences), includes Philippine local government and Philippine administrative organization; the programme at the Master's level (Graduate School of Arts and Sciences): problems of municipal government (of a comparative character), problems of Philippine local government and administration, and Philippine political institutions.

The Institute of Public Administration, which is part of the University, confers a Bachelor of Arts degree in Public Administration (including such subjects as the Philippine administrative system, local government and administration and government planning), and the degree of Master of Public Administration (including problems of provincial and municipal administration, problems and techniques of local government planning, and the administration of community development). The Department of Agricultural Education has two programmes containing aspects of local administration: the Master's degree in Agricultural Education (rural government, principles of rural leadership), and the degree of Master of Science in Community Development (comparative local government, and planning and administration of community development). This variety of courses shows a strong American impact on university organization.

Local Government Training in Zambia

by P. L. Taylor

Background to local government

The Republic of Zambia (formerly the British Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia) covers an area of 290,000 square miles and has a population of approximately 3,750,000 inhabitants. These figures give a mean population density of twelve per square mile, which compares with thirty-four for Kenya and seventy-four for Uganda. Population distribution is not, however, uniform throughout Zambia. While some rural Districts have a density as low as two to three per square mile there are four towns with over 80,000 inhabitants, and the population of two of these towns is above the 120,000 mark. In proportion to total population the degree of urbanisation in Zambia exceeds that in any other African country south of the Sahara. The figure for Tanzania is 4 per cent. and the figure for Kenya is 7 per cent., but the figure for Zambia is variously estimated[1] at 20 per cent. and 25 per cent.

Zambia's gross domestic product in 1964 was £240 million and the value of mineral production alone was £149 million, the export of copper being largely responsible for a surplus trade balance of £90 million for the year.

The 1965-66 national budget estimates that recurrent revenue for the year will amount to £84 million, and that recurrent expenditure for the same period will amount to £67 million, which sum includes a capital fund appropriation of £20 million. Zambia, therefore, enjoys not only a stable political situation but also an economic position of very considerable strength.

Structure of local government

Zambia has a single tier system of local government. There are at present thirty-one rural local authorities, fifty-three minor townships, eight mine townships, twenty-two town management boards, seven municipal councils and one city council. However, a reorganisation is due to take place shortly, creating a revised pattern of thirty-four rural local authorities, thirty-nine special areas (urban centres within predominantly rural areas), twenty-four township councils, eight mine township management boards, seven municipal councils and one city council.

Between the rural and the urban authorities there is a sharp distinction. The major urban authorities have, since the beginning, been modelled closely on English practice. With the exception of powers in respect of education and police the major urban authorities in Zambia provide much the same services as those provided by an English county borough. In 1964 the revenue estimates of Zambian urban authorities was approximately £11 million, compared with a central government recurrent expenditure estimate for that year of £45

Mr. P. L. Taylor is Head of the Local Government Training Department at the Staff Training College, Lusaka. This article was originally prepared at the request of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, to provide information for the Orientation Course in Local Government Training at Addis Ababa, May, 1965. It has been revised to incorporate developments that have taken place up to September, 1965.

[1] *The Economic Development of Zambia*, reporting the work of the 1964 UN/ECA/FAO Survey Mission quotes 25 per cent., but the more recently available *Second Report of the* 1963 *Census* indicates a figure of approximately 20 per cent.

million. In the same year the total loan debt of the urban authorities reached £32 million, and their gross rateable value amounted to £132 million.

On the other hand the local authorities at the beginning of 1964 were still the classic 'native authorities' of Indirect Rule, coming within the orbit not of the Ministry of Local Government but of the Ministry of Native Affairs.[2] In 1964, when the Ministry of Local Government took over responsibility for the existing native authorities, certain non-viable tribal units were amalgamated, and the old native authorities throughout the country were transformed into democratic rural councils. This is certainly a step in the right direction, but it will take time before the practical results of the change are felt. Although these rural local authorities serve some 80 per cent. of the country's population the actual services they provide are minimal. Their revenue estimates in 1963 were a mere £1¼ million, with central government grants comprising by far the greater part of their income. The 1964 figures are not yet available in detail, but it has been estimated that the proportion of government grants to local revenue is in fact increasing, and that in 1964 90 per cent. of the revenue of rural authorities consisted of such assistance. In these circumstances the rural councils have little freedom of action, and are in danger of becoming no more than government agencies. The financial relationships between local and central government have been the subject of detailed reviews recently, and Government has now undertaken a heavy financial responsibility to equip and sustain the rural councils in undertaking modern local government functions.

The legislation for the urban authorities is well developed, but the rural authorities are still operating under the old Native Authority Ordinance. This latter situation is most unsatisfactory, but at the time of writing a consolidating Local Government Bill is before Parliament and, once passed, will provide a modern legal basis for all forms of local government in Zambia.

Local authority contribution to development

The dichotomy that has already been noted between the urban and rural authorities is again evident when their capital works performances are compared. In 1964 when the urban authorities successfully undertook development projects valued at approximately £4 million, the rural authorities attempted a capital works plan of £¼ million, but only achieved an actual expenditure of half this figure.

The nation's development plans aim at a dramatic upsurge in the rate of development, and the central government has recently embarked on a £35 million Transitional Development Plan to cover the period from January, 1965, to June, 1966. This plan is deliberately aimed at rapid development of the rural areas, and yet only a little more than £½ million is going to be spent through the rural local authorities because, in the words of the planners, "construction capacity and the supply of skilled manpower is such in the rural areas that this sum represents the maximum that is feasible". Despite the demand for an increased contribution by the rural authorities to the national effort, their competence to undertake substantial development work is severely limited by the shortage of skilled staff – technical, financial and administrative.

[2] A detailed description of the evolution of the Isoka Superior Native Authority appeared in "Local Government Reorganisation in the Isoka District, Zambia", by W. J. S. Hudson, *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. IV, January, 1965. A more general critique was contributed to the July, 1965, number in "Continuity and Change in Zambian Administration", by H. Heisler.

The urban authorities, however, are in a much stronger position to play their part in development, and are being allocated £6½ million under the Transitional Development Plan. This amount is likely to be followed by even larger development loans if the recommendations of the recent UN/ECA/FAO Economic Survey Mission are put into effect. The Mission recommended the feasibility of a £450 million national development plan between 1965 and 1970. A central government's contribution to such a plan would be in the region of £139 million, of which some £40 million would be made available to urban authorities for new housing. It remains to be seen whether the urban authorities, and the building industry, would be able to cope with development on such a scale.

Local government training

In the circumstances outlined above the need for training is obvious. At a time when unprecendented developments are being planned experienced expatriates are being replaced by Zambians at all levels of economic and administrative activity. Few of these newly appointed men have had either the opportunity of higher education or experience in positions of top-level responsibility. To give such men the very best chance of succeeding in their difficult tasks it is vital to evolve training programmes that will fit them for their new posts in the shortest possible time.

This is a problem that is by no means peculiar to the sphere of local government, and it is a problem set against a very difficult educational background. President Kaunda recently illustrated the severe shortage of well-educated men by pointing out that Zambia had the same number of school certificate holders in 1964 as had Kenya in 1957, Uganda in 1955 and Ghana in 1943. The UN/ECA/FAO Mission, referred to above, points out that in 1965 the supply of such men will be 1640 compared with an estimated demand in the region of 21,800. If the current plan for an unprecendented increase in educational development goes through, and produces some 8,000 school certificate holders in 1970, demand will still be far in excess of supply, for it is estimated that the demand in 1970 will have risen to approximately 35,000. Despite the strenuous efforts that are being made to increase the secondary education available the shortfall between qualified persons and the demand for them is likely to increase rather than decrease in the foreseeable future.

In these circumstances it is clear that local authorities will be quite unable to attract enough qualified Zambians either to replace expatriates who are already leaving the urban authorities, or to strengthen the staff of the rural councils which must rapidly be transformed into efficient, competent and modern authorities. A lowering of traditional standards must therefore be accepted, and training can only be planned realistically if this is borne in mind. Training must initially be aimed at enabling people who lack the normal qualifications to tackle the responsibilities thrust upon them by the peculiar circumstances that prevail. At the same time the foundations must be laid for training that will lead on to the highest possible standards for the future, even if it is clearly impossible to attain these standards in the short term.

The fragmentation of posts that are essentially administrative, and "crash" training programmes to enable the newly appointed officers to fulfil their functions, will meet certain immediate needs. But neither fragmentation nor a lowering of standards is possible with certain posts such as Medical Officer of Health or Municipal Engineer. There seems no easy solution to this problem.

As yet no Zambians have come forward to train towards municipal engineering qualifications, and for a local course to train health inspectors only two suitable men could eventually be found. The local course has had to be cancelled, and the two candicates are being sent for overseas training instead.

Planning for future training

Training plans must be based on an accurate assessment of the local authorities' staff requirements. At the same time the need is so urgent that training cannot be suspended until a fully satisfactory survey has been completed. Moreover, the situation is always fluid, and the results of a survey begin to become obsolete as soon as they are available. Training and the assessment of needs must therefore be carried out in parallel, the content of training courses continually being adjusted to meet the changing needs as they become known.

Local government training in Zambia has been started on the basis of a somewhat arbitrary assessment of requirements, but once the results of a recent manpower survey are available and have been correlated with Zambianization schemes being prepared by the urban local authorities, existing training plans will have to be thoroughly re-examined. Even then the revised plans will have to be kept flexible, for it may well be necessary to redeploy training resources at short notice from time to time.

Even when the future forms of training have been determined, the recruitment of staff to put the plans into effect remains a most difficult problem. Those Zambians who would be able to do the training are already in high positions of responsibility, and the task of training therefore must continue to fall on expatriates for the next few years. Outside experts are in short supply, take a long time to recruit, and on arrival in the country inevitably need a considerable period in which to adjust their training methods to the special conditions prevailing in Zambia. In many ways local personnel who already have an intimate knowledge of local problems would be the best training officers, but rarely can expatriates who have the requisite professional qualifications and who are already working in Zambia be released from their present posts.

One other factor in planning for future training is the need to provide an adequate incentive for local authority staff to undergo training. Where there are promotion posts, as in the urban authorities, the incentive is obvious. But in the small rural authorities there is no promotion available to a man who is already a chief officer unless he leaves his job and seeks employment elsewhere. A scheme is therefore being studied at present to give accelerated promotion within the existing long salary scales to those who obtain good passes in the examinations at the end of training courses. The lack of such an incentive in the past has encouraged some staff to regard residential training courses as something of a holiday, while the more ambitious men have often completed their training and then resigned to look for better jobs elsewhere.

The introduction of the right professional or quasi-professional examinations should go far to set standards, to offer clear avenues of financial advancement based on the gaining of certain qualifications, and to establish an 'esprit de corps' within the local government service. Such a spirit is only in its infancy amongst the Zambians on whom the future of local government depends.

Training methods

These vary considerably according to the background of the persons undergoing training and according to the specific purpose of any particular training

course. While the formal lecture is ideal for students at an advanced level it is generally too concentrated for students with a limited educational background. Visual aids are useful for students at all levels, but there is always the danger of using a 'gimmick' for its own sake. Also visual aids that have been prepared for and have proved effective with one group can prove quite inappropriate when used with a different group. This applies equally to all teaching material, and the revision of teaching material is a never-ending process. Similarly material prepared and used by one teacher may not suit the style of another, and may need extensive modification before he can use it effectively.

Case studies have been used with considerable success. These studies vary in length from practical problems that can be dealt with in an hour or two, to complex files that can usefully be studied for several days.

Apart from teaching the various technical subjects that equip a man for responsible work there is a real need to teach background subjects, especially English. This might well be regarded as a technical subject in itself, for without a knowledge of English as an administrative tool no local government officer will get far. The teaching of English therefore takes high priority in the allocation of teaching time during residential courses.

Apart from residential courses short seminars have been held and have proved very useful, especially for the senior field staff of the Ministry of Local Government. Correspondence courses in local government subjects have yet to be tried in Zambia, but they might well prove useful. Perhaps one of the most effective training methods would be sandwich courses using periods of residential training interspersed with periods spent back on the job, but there are difficulties in making adequate arrangements for supervision of the non-residential periods, just as there are for the supervision of periods of attachment within a residential course.

One effective means of integrating the training effort of centralised courses and that of field officers of the Ministry is the issue of authoritative training manuals. Field officers can then refer to these manuals and guide inexperienced staff in the correct procedures. Already Ministry handbooks on *Financial and Accounting Instructions* for rural and township councils, and on *Audit Procedures* have been produced. A further handbook on *Council Procedure* has been issued by the Staff Training College.

Training facilities

There are several agencies in Zambia that are contributing to local government training, and it is now appropriate to give a brief outline of each.

In Lusaka the Staff Training College, a modern residential institution set up to train the public service, undertakes the training of local government administrative and financial staff. To date five courses of three months' duration have been run concluding with examinations leading to the award of Preliminary Certificates in Local Government Administration and Finance respectively, issued by a local body known as the Local Government Recruitment, Training and Examinations Board. A more advanced course on local government finance, leading to the Accounts Clerks' Certificate of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants is now under way, and it is intended to prepare students for the intermediate examinations of the Institute next year. On the administration side plans are nearing completion for a course of intermediate level starting early next year and leading to the examinations of

the Institute of Local Government Administrators of Zambia which is at present in the process of formation.

Also in Lusaka the College of Further Education provides general commercial training, leading to professional qualifications in administration and accountancy. Several students from local government have enrolled, but the present courses are not designed specifically for local government students.

At Chalimbana, some miles outside Lusaka, training of native authority staff has been carried out for a number of years.[3] Recently this centre concentrated on the training of elected chairman, but now priority is being given to the training of public works and clerical staff from the rural authorities.

Throughout the country there are established provincial training wings, but in practice the staff of the Ministry of Local Government at provincial headquarters are under such pressure of administrative work that training activities have had to be severely curtailed.

The agencies mentioned so far are all government bodies, but in the urban areas the local authorities and their staffs are making their own additional contribution. The two biggest urban councils are particularly active in training and one of the councils (Kitwe) has appointed a training officer to plan and execute its own training programmes. Treasury staff throughout the urban authorities have given their support to the Zambia Students' Society of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, and three highly successful weekend seminars have already been held to assist students studying for the Institute's examinations. The Institute of Local Government Administrators of Zambia, mentioned above, is being formed by Town Clerks and others to provide a progression of local examinations that will assist Zambians to qualify themselves for senior posts in local government administration.

The emphasis throughout the country is now to provide training locally, but where this is not available training is still being done overseas. In the past the Torquay Technical College, England, has assisted in training staff from the native authorities, and more recently students have been sent to the Institute of Public Administration in Ireland and to the Department of Local Government at Birmingham University, England. While it is intended that some students should still go overseas for advanced or specialist courses the general policy is now to do as much training as possible in Zambia, importing the teachers rather than exporting the students.

The role of the Ministry of Local Government

It is the task of the Ministry of Local Government and Housing to lay down the broad lines of policy that guide the formulation of training programmes. It must also collect, collate and make available information about the requirements of local authorities, and see that the training being provided is in fact the training that is required. It must directly assist in the training of its own staff, and co-ordinate the efforts being made by the various training agencies. Finally it must make available authoritative material in the form of legislation, regulations and administrative instruction that will provide the guide-lines not only of training but also of all local government activity.

In the Ministry headquarters there is an Assistant Secretary (Training) whose function it is to plan and co-ordinate training. All local government training bodies work in close consultation with him, as do the field staff of the

[3] See "Rural Local Government Training in Northern Rhodesia", by A. C. North, *J.A.A.*, Vol. XIII, April, 1961.

Ministry. In 1964 the Ministry appointed provincial local government training officers to provide a maximum amount of on-the-job training, but administrative pressures have been such that few of these officers have found time to train, and they have now been absorbed into the administrative staff of provincial local government offices. Nevertheless the field staff of the Ministry remain very much alive to the need for training, and close contact is maintained between provincial officers and the Staff Training College in assessing training needs, evaluating training courses, and in following them up with on-the-job supervision.

The rural authorities are far more dependent upon the advice and assistance of Ministry staff than are the urban authorities, many of which have highly experienced expatriate senior staff. But the Ministry still has to bring continual pressure to bear on the urban authorities to bring home to them the urgency of putting into practice policies of job fragmentation and the training of Zambians. There is still a certain inertia in some urban quarters, and a failure to come to terms with pressing staff training problems.

Evaluation of training

Local government training in Zambia is really at too early a stage for any useful evaluation to take place. Data is too limited, and the tentative conclusions one draws from one course tend to be upset by the next. Most of the training being done at present is in a sense experimental, and yet it cannot be regarded simply as an experiment for it is essential that it should be effective. At present those involved in local government training in Zambia are busy trying to assess training being done elsewhere with a view to gleaning useful information, rather than in assessing the effectiveness of their own first steps.

Technical assistance

Technical assistance is vital if local government training is to be effective in Zambia. Training experience in other parts of the world will have to be drawn upon, and overseas experts recruited. Zambia does not lack the financial resources needed to develop, but it does lack the skilled manpower.

Expatriates recruited locally from within the civil service started the training programme at the Staff Training College. They have now been joined by a local government officer made available on secondment by the Dublin Corporation through the good offices of the Irish Institute of Public Administration and the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation, and by a locally recruited Associate of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants. Efforts are being made to recruit further staff who are needed if existing training plans are to materialize.

Useful contacts have been made between the Staff Training College and the Kenya Institute of Administration, and material has been exchanged by the Staff Training College with the UNTAB correspondence school project for Uganda local government finance officers, and with the Institute of Administration at Zaria, Northern Nigeria. The cross-fertilization of ideas amongst people tackling similar training problems throughout Africa (and beyond) is immensely useful, as was proved at the recent UN/ECA course in Local Government Training, held at Addis Ababa in May, 1965.

One source of technical assistance that can easily be overlooked is the ready advice and assistance given by expatriates at present serving the urban authorities in Zambia. Those engaged in financial work especially have been most

willing to offer advice, and to assist where possible in bringing pressure to bear upon their parent professional body to provide a progression of examinations that are fully suitable to local conditions.

Conclusions

Local government training in Zambia is still in the early stages, but it is now poised for rapid development. Information being collated about training requirements, experience being gained by initial training programmes, the recruitment of specialist training staff, the assimilation of advice from training centres elsewhere in Africa – all should make possible the rapid and effective development of local government training in Zambia in the near future.

The Staff Development Centre, Kaduna

by J. H. Smith

In 1960 the Government of Northern Nigeria asked the Ford Foundation to undertake a survey of the 'Staffing and Staff Development Problems of the Public Service'. The Foundation agreed to the request and proposed a Commission consisting of Dr. H. Donald Kingsley, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., of the Ford Foundation, and Sir Arthur Rucker, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.B.E., a former British civil servant. The Commission was asked in its terms of reference to advise on the types of training most urgently required, the means by which such training could most rapidly be accomplished and co-ordinated, and the best practical approaches to continuous staff development. The report of the Commission, which was presented to the Government in January, 1961, proposed that a non-residential Staff Development Centre be established in the Regional Capital, Kaduna. The Commission recommended that the Centre should have a professional staff competent to man a supervisory and management wing, and to run short courses, seminars, and discussion groups in human relations, principles of administration, principles of O & M analysis, and the like; a wing devoted to clerical and secretarial training to provide advanced training for serving clerks, typists, and secretaries; and a specialised unit in the teaching of English as a second language, equipped for the most modern approach to this problem.

The Staff Development Centre, which was officially opened on the 13th March, 1965, by the Premier of Northern Nigeria, is the direct result of the Kingsley-Rucker Report, but events have moved even faster than envisaged and the new institution is inevitably taking shape to meet the needs of 1965 rather than those of 1960. The Ford Foundation has contributed generously to the total costs of the project with two substantial building grants, and other grants towards staffing and counterpart training for an initial three years.

Detailed planning for training programmes at the Centre began in August, 1964, when the first Director assumed office. Among the problems to be tackled was the relationship of the Centre with the Institute of Administration at Zaria. When Kingsley and Rucker were carrying out their survey, the upgrading of the Institute to form a part of the University was under consideration, and it was realised that some of the lower level training undertaken there would require a new home. By statute, however, as part of Ahmadu Bello University, the Institute retains its important in-service role, with programmes closely tied to the needs of government. It remains Northern Nigeria's primary training institution in law, professional administrative techniques, local government, and business enterprise.[1] Both institutions are anxious that there should be no duplication of functions, no wastage of resources or personnel, as well as an assurance that training will be both adequate for government's needs and within government's financial capacity to maintain. In many instances the

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[1] "The Institute of Administration, Zaria", by S. S. Richardson, *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. III, No. 1 (1964), p. 42.

two institutions can usefully work hand in hand, for they represent different spheres of expertise which are none the less complementary. For example, the Kingsley-Rucker Report recommended short in-service courses at the Centre for administrative officers "dealing primarily with the administrative process rather than with such things as regulations and standing orders". In fact, the Institute is best equipped, particularly now that it has a residential Conference Centre, for training in the administrative process and has long played a major role in doing so. The Centre, on the other hand, is the better place for orientation into government procedures. So graduates in Public Administration from Zaria recruited into government service will attend an induction course at the Centre, and during their career may return there to learn French or Arabic or new government procedure. Other graduates will take advantage of short courses at the Institute in law and the administrative process; and all will join together in seminars and workshops for serving officers held at the Institute's Conference Centre and staffed by both institutions.

Originally it was presumed that the secretarial and clerical training programmes dropped by the Institute on its attainment of University status would be picked up by the Centre. But by the time the Centre was established, the four Clerical Training Centres in the Provinces, controlled by an able and experienced Principal, had proved more than adequate for the basic clerical training needs of both Government and Native Authorities, and one of them had switched to advanced secretarial training. It has therefore been decided to keep the secretarial and clerical training centres as separate in-service institutions for basic training, rather than bring them under the Staff Development Centre, which will however organize part-time training for officers of the secretarial and clerical classes working in Kaduna.

As the English Language Unit was set up primarily to support secretarial and clerical training, other uses for this have been found, and experience indicates that these are perhaps of greater value than the original intention.

Apart from the Institute of Administration, a number of Ministries have developed their own training programmes and the larger executive Ministries such as Agriculture and Health have for a long time had well-developed training institutions. But technical training institutions include little in the way of government procedures in programmes, and have never been staffed to do so. The only available instructor training is a full five-year Ministry of Education teacher-training course. Language teaching is confined to full-time educational establishments. There is great scope for supervisory training at levels which do not fit in easily with the Institute's programmes. Generally, overall training needs remain great and there are gaps which only a centralized institution can usefully fill at this stage of development. The Centre's advantage in its location in the regional capital, which has the largest concentration of civil servants, making continuous development programmes possible through part-time training, is in itself a particular consideration.

In planning programmes, therefore, care has been taken to avoid any duplication of existing in-service training, and to complement it by the provision of common services such as the training of instructors; language development; training in government procedures and training in supervision and management. At the same time the Centre has absorbed the Treasury Training School, which trained clerks and accounting assistants in treasury procedures, and by phases will take over the training of the Stores Cadre, previously organized by the Ministry of Works.

In a number of ways, then, it can be seen that the current situation makes demands different from those of five years ago and changes have been made accordingly. The detailed organisation of the Centre as it now stands is given in the succeeding paragraphs.

Legislative responsibility for the Centre has been assigned to the Minister of Establishments and Training. The Secretary to the Premier as Head of the Civil Service has a special interest in the Centre's activities and is Chairman of an Advisory Board, on which also sit the permanent secretaries of the ministries of Establishments and Training, Education and Local Government; the directors of the Institute of Administration and the Staff Development Centre; and Mallam Ahmadu Coomassie, a retired civil servant and former permanent secretary, with many years' experience of adult education.

Internally the Centre is divided for instructional purposes into three departments: administration and government procedures; specialist services; and languages. Training programmes are planned as full-time, day-release or evening. Full-time courses are kept short, and preferably under four months. Increasing emphasis is being put on part-time training to ensure the minimum dislocation of the civil service and the maximum turnover of officers through the Centre, as well as the most economic use of buildings. Programmes are either arranged by the Centre at the request of ministries, or initiated by the Centre in accord with policy proposed by the Advisory Board and approved by the Minister of Establishments and Training.

The department of administration and government procedures organizes induction courses of a week's duration for all newly appointed senior staff; assistant executive officers' and accounting assistants' training; and courses in government procedures at various levels for different grades and classes of the civil service. A current programme which is proving successful is a series of seminars for senior staff in specific government procedures, such as the preparation of papers for the Cabinet, the legislative process, the preparation of estimates, discipline and confidential staff reporting. These seminars take officers away from their normal duties for the last two hours of the working week twice a month. Each seminar is complete in itself so that there is no need for an individual to attend the whole series.

The department of specialist services is organizing instructor courses, in teaching techniques and the preparation of materials, for instructors in in-service training institutions. Numbers are kept small and each instructor receives plenty of individual attention on these six-week courses. Day-release courses in shorthand speed development, and committee and office procedures are being held for the secretarial class, and the department is able to respond to specific requests for *ad hoc* courses such as one recently received from the Audit department for a day-release course in arithmetic! Future plans of the department include programmes in general studies covering economics, international affairs, and technological development to keep civil servants in touch with the cultural, technological, scientific and political realities both of their own society and of the wider world. Such programmes are being designed primarily for senior staff and will be conducted in conjunction with the University and other agencies. The first, a seminar in developmental economics for senior assistant secretaries and above, has just been announced and is being staffed by the Institute of Administration.

English is one of the two official languages of Northern Nigeria. Nearly every civil servant is carrying on his day-to-day duties in a foreign language. Hausa,

the other official language is not the first language of some civil servants. Northern Nigeria's foreign neighbours have a common language in French. Arabic is indigenous to Northern Nigeria, to many other African countries, and to all countries which have a strong connection with Islam. The department of languages, therefore, aims to facilitate communication within the civil service and with Northern Nigeria's neighbours by offering programmes in English, technical vocabulary development, Hausa, French and Arabic. The department has a twenty-place language laboratory supplied and installed by English Language Services Inc., of Washington D.C., which permits a modern linguistic approach to language teaching. English instruction is primarily remedial, and teaching materials have been especially prepared based on the particular linguistic difficulties that confront speakers of the main vernaculars. Apart from the English content in other programmes, two-month intensive English courses, making full use of the language laboratory, are proving a success. These courses are designed at two levels, and aimed at individuals whose work would be helped by an improved knowledge of English. Experience shows a homogeneous group makes the most progress in the limited time available, so specialist courses are now being planned for such groups as local government instructors, telephone operators, the official translators in the Legislature. The facilities of the department are also being made available to the Ministry of Education for primary school teachers' vacation courses. The first French course under the guidance of a teacher on Canadian technical assistance, is using excellent audio-visual materials produced by Libraries Hachette of Paris. The officers on this course are all senior staff and include administrative and police officers, a State Counsel, and a Provincial Engineer. It is hoped to begin both Arabic and Hausa courses during 1965.

The Centre is staffed by government officers, personnel recruited and supplied by the Ford Foundation, and other personnel on various forms of technical assistance. Northern Nigerian counterparts are being selected, and the first, a trained language teacher, is at present studying language laboratory techniques at Southern Illinois University which supports the English programmes at the Centre under a Ford Foundation contract. It is hoped to achieve complete Nigerian management of the Centre by 1970.

Existing buildings comprise a cinema hall, eight classrooms, a conference room, a small library and offices. The next phase of buildings, being designed by Fry, Drew and Atkinson, a firm with great experience of university and school work in West Africa and elsewhere, aims at a grouping which will create a 'learning' atmosphere and lend itself to easy and informal social concourse after lectures or seminars. Policy is firmly directed towards the Centre becoming a natural focal point for the civil service both in the acquisition of knowledge and for relaxation. A major feature of the new building will be a library able to seat a hundred readers at individual desks, offering good work conditions for the civil servants who are engaged in private higher studies, as well as facilities for those on courses. A lecture theatre seating 150 and a conference room for about the same number will increase opportunities for the 'single-shot' type of training that can be so useful – a presentation of the oil industry, instruction in a new procedure and so on.

The Centre is keeping itself as flexible as possible, lively to the fact that events move fast in Africa, and that yesterday's planning seldom meets tomorrow's situation without adaptation and compromise.

Training for Localisation of the Public Service in Malawi

by M. J. Bennion

Malawi, formerly Nyasaland, is a smallish country with a population probably in excess of four millions. Since the days of Livingstone missionary influence, predominantly Scottish, has always been very strong, with the result that education at the primary level has been comparatively well looked after and the literacy rate is high for Central Africa, but up to 1960, secondary education, the key to the higher ranks of the Public Service, was severely limited; in that year there was only one sixth form – at Dedza – and the annual output of School Certificates was running at less than eighty; there were only nine awards of Higher School Certificate. From this limited field commerce and the outside world took their toll and there was not much left over for Government.

This is not to say that before 1960 nothing had been done towards localization. In Nyasaland in 1960 out of a little under two thousand senior service posts, one hundred and four were held by Nyasalanders, although none had reached the superscale and only nine were in the Administrative or Professional grades, of whom eight were in an administrative cadre of ninety-five.

With the emergence of the first national government and the prospect of a considerable exodus of expatriates, localization became a matter of serious importance and in August, 1960, a special Committee began its work, under the Chairmanship of Mr. A. L. Adu, at that time Head of the Ghanaian Civil Service. The Committee's report was issued in October of the same year, its main recommendations being:

(*a*) The localization of the civil service at the greatest rate compatible with acceptable standards.

(*b*) The training of technical and specialist staff through schemes to be drawn up by the Ministries.

(*c*) The establishment of an Institute of Public Administration, to train local cadres for the Administrative and Executive grades.

These recommendations have since been carried out, although it is pertinent to note that the Prime Minister with his usual realism has insisted that localization must not become a fetish, and has repeatedly emphasized the need of expatriate civil servants for some years to come, and there have been no signs of any desire prematurely to replace an expatriate with a local, simply for the sake of a programme and regardless of the real needs of the situation. Nevertheless there has, of course, been a fairly large exodus of expatriates who must be replaced. By Independence Day about 40 per cent. had left or indicated their intention to leave.

This created a formidable problem – recruitment from abroad on a short contract basis has gone some way towards filling the gaps, but 'experts' from other countries are not always a complete substitute for local experience, and if the localization programme had faltered the present situation would certainly have been grim and possibly chaotic. It would be idle to deny that there are

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still plenty of difficult staffing problems – where in Africa are there not? – but thanks to the vigour and drive of Government the situation is far from desperate; on the contrary the machine is functioning with a commendable degree of efficiency and the tempo has quickened out of all recognition.

There is of course, no room for complacency, yet the achievement in localization over a period of about five years, that is between the time of the Adu Committee and the beginning of this year, reflects a rise from one hundred and four to five hundred and seventy in the senior appointments occupied by local officers. This disregards the relative position in services taken over, before Independence, from the former Federal Government. The following table indicates in more detail the position below the superscale level, as at 31st January, 1965:

	Local officers	*Non-local officers*
Administrative	38	36
Professional	28	230
Executive	276	139
Technical	105	301
Stenographers	13	78
Police	106	108
Prisons	4	9
	570	901

How had this comparatively satisfactory position been achieved, and what is the programme for the future? Broadly speaking, there have been three methods of training for localization:

In service ('on the job')
Abroad
At the Institute and other training centres.

In Malawi, courses have been both external and internal and full advantage has been taken of them. During the last three or four years international goodwill has blazed brightly and so many scholarships have been offered from so many sources that there has even been a degree of duplication and quite often Government has had to refuse offers because it has already placed the only available candidates elsewhere for identical work. No less than four hundred and twenty Malawians, sponsored by Government, have begun specialist training abroad and will return as trained men at varying times up to 1969. In addition to all this it is known that many more are undergoing specialist studies abroad privately and it can be expected that most of them, when they return, will make their skills available to the public service or to the professions in their country.

Within Malawi the Ministries have established schools to administer junior or technical training. For example, the Ministry of Natural Resources controls schools for junior agriculture, forestry and veterinary training; the Police Training School at Kanjedza has already run courses for one hundred and fourteen men at the Inspector level alone; the Ministry of Works has a school for training foremen; the Ministry of Education has a College of Commerce, which specializes in clerical and secretarial training. All these courses are making a big impact upon the middle and junior sections of the service.

The Institute of Public Administration, is the keystone of the arch. Its first function must necessarily be administrative training. Names and titles change,

terms of reference are amended, all things flow; the District Commissioner has departed and the Government Agent is doing a job in many ways radically different. Nevertheless, it is just as true today as it ever was that good administrative and executive cadres are the backbone of the service, without which the work of the technicians is apt to end in frustration. The comfortable myth that administration is an inborn gift and cannot be taught, after a surprisingly long and respectable life, now rests in an honoured grave, and it is generally agreed that the best place to teach it is in the student's own country where theory can be related to on-the-spot experience, and the syllabus can be closely linked to the practical, everyday problems that the new administrator will have to face.

Planning of the Institute in accordance with the recommendations of the Adu Commission began in May, 1962, the United Kingdom Government having made a grant of £500,000 to cover capital expenditure on the permanent buildings together with the recurrent cost of three years' working. The premises of the former School of Local Government at Mpemba, eight miles from Blantyre, became available at about the same time and the new Institute came formally into being there on the 1st July of that year. Training began in September and the full capacity of eighty students was reached six months later. The Institute, having largely fulfilled its first and vital function of training enough men to keep the machine functioning, is now about to be integrated with the new University of Malawi; building should begin next year and the move to Zomba should take place some time in 1968.

When the Administrative Course was being planned the most vital question was that of the entry qualification. Was the existing requirement of a good Honours degree to be continued, or were educational standards to be relaxed, at least temporarily? In 1960 Nyasaland had thirty-three graduates, nearly all of whom were already in important posts; today Malawi has about seventy-five and the graph will rise steeply in future years, but, of course, there are still far more posts of responsibility than there are graduates to fill them, and it is a waste of talent to divert a man with professional or technical qualifications into an administrative post. Government therefore decided to give intensive training to carefully chosen men of at least G.C.E. standard and, if possible, with some Government or allied experience; the length of the course was fixed at nine months. The first course began in October, 1963, and was ready to enter the service by Independence Day; a second course has just been completed; a third course has been selected and that will be the last of its kind. Thereafter Malawi will look mainly to the holders of the Diploma (and later the Degree) in Public Administration, conferred by the University of Malawi, for recruitment to the Administrative Service.

In many parts of the world there has been strong criticism of the administrative 'crash' courses on the grounds that they are a desperate remedy for a desperate situation and that at best they can produce only stopgaps. Admittedly, a man whose mind has been trained to Honours standards, is, other things being equal, potentially better material than the G.C.E. man, and if the two recruiting fields were equally large it would be only common sense to go for the higher. At present, however, there are still so many factors in favour of the lower that the effective difference may well be only marginal and, indeed, sometimes even in favour of the product of the 'crash' course. In the first place he is the cream of his particular jug of milk; the first course in Malawi consisted of twenty-two men chosen from over five hundred applicants and the

selection committee was able to give great weight to personality and previous record. Then, the students had no illusions about the inadequacy of their knowledge when they started their course and they threw themselves into the task of acquiring more with vast enthusiasm; recent graduates are not so likely to possess this humility. Lastly they were nearly all men of a practical turn of mind and we did not have to cope with the clever type who can nonchalantly toss off an A plus essay on the principles of man management, but cannot begin to deal with a recalcitrant clerk. The answers all lie in the future, but at this moment of time there seems to be no reason why the survival rate of this group should be lower than that of the average graduate course.

The syllabus was worked out by reference to local needs, combined with study of experience elsewhere, particularly Northern Nigeria and Kenya, from which many interesting and valuable ideas were received which could be adapted to our own requirements. The training content has been kept severely practical and maximum use has been made of case-studies, projects and day-to-day exercises such as the 'in-basket'. It might be of interest to mention that so far the shorter case-study, drawn from life from the Establishment files and dealing with a single, not over-complicated, situation, seems best to meet the needs of the students, and is extremely popular with them. On the other hand some of the 'set-piece' exercises – the laying on of a programme for a visiting Head of State, the organization of a tax-drive – have been on a quite elaborate scale and have occupied up to three or four weeks of part-time work. These exercises have been given as much reality as possible; the Head of State is imaginary, but every detail of the programme must be practicable and arranged personally with the official who would actually have been concerned.

Executive training has presented fewer problems; the educational entry-standards have been nearly as high as those of the Administrative Course, but the same experience or degree of personal initiative is not sought, and the average age is a few years lower. Here again G.C.E., or the equivalent, is the normal entry requirement; the main sources of recruitment have been the upper reaches of the clerical grade and the bright school leaver with limited or no experience in Government. The two types mould surprisingly easily and the end-products are almost indistinguishable. The courses last for six months each and a fourth is about to start, the first three having turned out very well indeed.

After Administrative and Executive training, Local Government training is normally the third function of an Institute and the School of Local Government Training begins its work in September of this year. Malawi is in the middle of a re-organization of its judicial system, involving two major changes:–

(*a*) the transfer of judicial functions from the administrative cadre to trained, full-time, local magistrates and

(*b*) the upgrading of the former customary law courts to what are, in effect, junior magistrates' courts, administering the Penal Code and other Ordinances as well as the customary law which is now in process of codification.

The programme has called for the rapid training of sixteen magistrates, second and third class, and the re-orientation of about one hundred and eighty court presidents and their clerical staff – a formidable assignment, which affords a close and interesting parallel with the re-training of Alkalai in Northern Nigeria on the introduction of the new Penal Code courts there in 1959. This operation is being carried out by means of seven-month courses for the magistrates and four-month courses for the court presidents and their clerks. The six-

teen magistrates, sixty court presidents, and a hundred court clerks, so trained, are already in the field.

Malawi is desperately short of trained lawyers of its own and by 1968 the country will need at least twenty, to fill the posts of Crown Counsel and Resident Magistrate at present mainly held by expatriate officers on contract. To this end in November, 1962, a Law School was opened as an integral part of the Institute. By arrangement with the Council of Legal Education in London students take Part One of the Bar Examinations at the Institute and then go on to the Inns of Court to study for their Finals. Results so far have been eminently satisfactory. One student has already passed his Bar Finals and another twenty-four are preparing to take their Finals having already passed Part One. At the present rate of progress the 1968 target should be comfortably achieved, the more so as four Malawians are studying for the LL.B. at Dar-es-Salaam. It is the intention that the best of the Bar students shall also take the London LL.B., so that the country will have a nucleus of men with all-round legal training.

The Institute has also mounted a series of courses on behalf of the Co-operative Movement, which is still in its infancy but is vital to a country like Malawi, whose true wealth depends so much on its agriculture. Fifty-two co-operative assistants have attended a six-month course to enable them to supervise the work, and particularly the accounts, of the numerous agricultural producer co-operatives which have been established during the past few years. Seventy members of the staff of these co-operatives have also been given preliminary training; the courses have so far been on the short side, since it is at this stage impracticable for the students to be released for longer periods, but it has lately proved possible to increase the length of these courses to at least four months. The 'sponsoring' Ministry, Trade and Industry, is now ready to control its own School of Co-operative Training, and preparations are in hand to effect this.

So far it has been necessary to concentrate almost exclusively on the training function of the Institute, and to give second place to the remaining two functions of research and co-ordination. First, the task of localization has been of supreme urgency and, secondly, the temporary premises at Mpemba lack the necessary facilities; for instance, there is as yet no electric power during the day-time and staff housing and office accommodation are strictly limited. In spite of this a certain amount of progress has been made; the training staff have produced a number of basic pamphlets, especially on the judicial side, which are now in general use and the Institute has staged a useful Local Government conference on behalf of the Ministry. There will be ample facilities at the University site for both research and co-ordination and by mid-1968 the Institute should be performing to full effect all the functions for which it was designed.

At present the Institute is a Department of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry in general control of training throughout Malawi. It is therefore at this stage a Government controlled organization and has no special relationship with any academic body. The higher functions will no doubt eventually become an integral part of the University but the need will continue for courses at a lower level run on behalf of Government and planning for those needs is proceeding steadily.

In brief then, Malawi has entered late into the field of intensive localisation and is taking a realistic and sensible view of the process. A vigorous threefold programme is producing trained men at a steady rate, with Government keeping

a careful eye on standards and retaining expatriate officers until locals are genuinely qualified to take their places. As is natural and proper in a young country, promotion is more rapid than in the old Colonial days, but it still has to be earned and nobody jumps from clerical officer to permanent secretary overnight. International aid has been offered over a wide field and the basic material – the student body – is outstandingly good. The path ahead is arduous, but there are bright prospects of a stable, efficient and dedicated Malawian public service.

Rural Improvement by Communal Labour in the Bombali District of Sierra Leone

A Case Study

by P. S. Mould

Among those people today who are seeking some solution to the world-wide problems of poverty, hunger, illiteracy and disease, attention is being increasingly turned to the possibility and practical difficulties of using man's spare time for the development and improvement of his community.

Undoubtedly the greatest under-utilized resource in the world today is the 'fallow time' of the hunter, fisherman and farmer who on an average spends sixty days of the year in enforced idleness. Assuming that this applies to two-thirds of the world's workers, and that each man under proper direction could produce between 3s. and 5s. worth of investment a day, a simple calculation will show that the potential value of this resource is many times greater than the total assistance, both public and private, that is now being given to the under-developed countries. Hitherto this fallow time has been used in communal or self-help projects of varying kinds. In relation to the total resources available these have usually been on a relatively small scale and have sometimes been no more than isolated spasms of activity. Among the most successful have been self-help building projects. This paper sets out to show by way of illustration how, in the Bombali District of Sierra Leone in two fallow seasons – between November, 1962, and June, 1964 – the local people by their own voluntary efforts constructed nine school classroom blocks, four piped water supplies and approximately two hundred and thirty miles of new laterite roads with permanent bridges and culverts, giving an increase of approximately two-thirds on all existing roads in the district.

Bombali District – the background

Bombali District covers 3,085 square miles of the Northern Province of Sierra Leone. It is inhabited by approximately 200,000 people from six different resident tribes – Temne, Loko, Limba, Susu, Mandingo and Fulla – the first three being the largest groupings, but in every case the district boundary cuts across the ethnic distribution. Bombali district is therefore a particularly artificial administrative unit, which in spite of containing the provincial headquarters had never been either a cohesive force in local government or politically influential at a national level. Like the eleven other districts in Sierra Leone, Bombali has a two-tier system of local government with thirteen chiefdoms – traditional bodies being gradually modernized – and the district council consisting of the paramount chiefs of each chiefdom and councillors directly elected by men and women over twenty-one. The simple tax system involves a flat rate poll tax varying between 28s. and 30s. collected by the chiefdom from all resident adult males. A precept of 10s. per taxpayer is paid to the district council, which also collects school fees and certain licence revenue, and receives

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government grants for capital projects. The administrative head of a district is the district officer, who has very largely traditional responsibilities, and is the senior agent of central government. He has administrative and statutary duties of advising, assisting and inspecting the local authorities and in fact devotes a high proportion of his time to this work.

In Bombali district, as in other parts of Sierra Leone, there is a tradition of communal activity. Prior to the Nineteen Forties the ordinary 'man in the bush' joined with his fellows to make farms and repair houses for his paramount chief, construct and repair rest houses for the use of government officers, construct and maintain footpaths, hammock paths, and footbridges for general use. In those days the paramount chiefs and their tribal authority members possessed traditional powers to force a man to give his labour. This was abolished following forced labour legislation, but it remained a duty to give free labour, when called by a chief, on maintaining footpaths and footbridges, and as a matter of course on keeping one's own compound clean. Moreover, it was not an offence to organize free labour on a project of public value where those participating had agreed to combine and give their own labour voluntarily. The tradition of communal activity was also kept alive by the continuation of spontaneous 'farming companies' created for the purpose of jointly brushing and harvesting a farm, and strengthened by the creation of co-operative societies for farming, marketing, thrift and credit.

An important feature of all traditional communal activity is that there exists a technique and procedure which is widely known and clearly understood. The brushing of a footpath, for example, follows a clearly defined pattern in a particular village. Similarly in the less technically simple task of constructing a footbridge of wood or creepers – some of which are up to two hundred feet long and forty feet high – the procedure, technique and responsibilities are clearly defined and widely understood. The best site, the size, height and width of the bridge, the types and sizes of tree trunks, branches and creepers to be used, the method of construction – all this is generally known in the community and is the result of the accumulated experience of many generations.

District councils were established to "promote the development of the district and the welfare of its people with the funds at its disposal". Before then whatever rural development took place depended largely on the individual initiative of the paramount chief and the district commissioner. (The title was changed to district officer in 1961.) With the creation of district councils, district development plans were formulated in the early Nineteen Fifties. The plans were concerned primarily with the development of district – as opposed to national – roads, feeder roads and the palm oil industry. They were not in fact positively implemented according to a timetable, but guided the *ad hoc* development which did take place, following approval of projects in the annual estimates of the district councils and chiefdoms. With district councils as the agencies of development, road projects were undertaken either under contract, or directly, by wage labour supervised by a Works Officer or Works Supervisor. The funds available for development amounted to a Government grant of £5,000 plus whatever funds from its precept and licence revenue were available after meeting recurrent expenditure. In practice, like other councils, the Bombali district council was rarely able to allocate more than its specific capital grants. Development work progressed slowly, not only because the funds available were very small in relation to the projects to be undertaken, but also because at times contractors failed to complete their contracts, or

direct labour was poorly supervised[1] and proved to be slow and expensive. Moreover, faced with the slow progress or non-completion of projects the district council did not prove to be a critical forum. Criticism, however, was made at chiefdom level at tribal authority meetings. There were objections to the absence of development, or the slow progress of projects, and the feeling that the return from the precept was too small. Often these criticisms were voiced by district councillors themselves in response to their greater loyalty to the chiefdom. There is sufficient understanding of, and sense of identity with a chiefdom for an ordinary taxpayer to be in favour of 'developing his chiefdom' and making sacrifices in the form of tax payment and free labour. The same cannot be said for the concept of 'developing one's district'. Thus development by the Bombali district council proved to be slow and expensive, and too remote from the ordinary 'man in the bush' to stimulate a contribution from him of free labour to build roads and bridges.

In 1955 there were widespread popular based disturbances in the Northern Province resulting in the destruction of property mainly belonging to paramount chiefs, section chiefs, tribal authority members and other influential persons, including traders. Five chiefdoms in Bombali district were affected. Of the factors responsible for these disturbances, two are relevant to this paper. Firstly, in the few years immediately prior to the disturbances there had been, in many areas, a recurrence of forced labour, particularly for the making of farms for paramount chiefs, and the widespread collection of a multitude of petty fees and fines, in the name of the chiefdom, although the largest proportion found its way into the pockets of various minor chiefs and collectors and never reached the end of its tortuous journey to the chiefdom treasury. Government immediately restated the illegality of forced labour and 'abolished' the fees and fines, none of which in fact had a statutory basis[2]. Following specific judicial enquiries some of the paramount chiefs were deposed. As a result the authority of paramount chiefs and the whole traditional chiefdom structure tended to be severely weakened.[3] Whilst the effect was most intense in those chiefdoms where disturbances had occurred, all were affected to a greater or lesser degree: there was a widespread popular feeling against the traditional authority of chiefs and its more despotic manifestations. The significance of this weakening of the authority of paramount chiefs in delaying the application of communal labour for rural development will be seen later.

The second factor was the popular objection to the concentration of chiefdom development expenditure on court *barris* (meeting places), markets, water supplies, office buildings, houses for the paramount chief, all in chiefdom headquarter towns. Taxpayers throughout the entire chiefdom paid tax, but those in chiefdom headquarters had benefited disproportionately. Government advocated against chiefdoms devoting too large a proportion of their development funds to projects in chiefdom headquarters, and encouraged development outside by the introduction in 1958 of rural development grants. A rural development committee was set up to administer the grants in each district. The committee consisted of the district commissioner as chairman, and

[1] It was difficult to obtain suitable staff and funds for an efficient works organisation. Had they been available, it is doubtful whether a small but equipped works organisation would have been fully employed with the development funds available.

[2] Since then fees and fines have only been collectable following the passing of tribal authority bye-laws.

[3] In the worst affected chiefdoms traditional authority was usurped by the riot leaders.

members of parliament from the district as members. The Ministry of Internal Affairs issued directives to rural development committees prescribing a 10 per cent matching contribution from chiefdom funds, and the legitimacy only of projects outside chiefdom headquarters towns. The Bombali committee usually made an allocation to each chiefdom from each year's total grant of £3,000. No hard and fast rules determined the amount allocated, but the committee members took account of a number of factors including the development needs of a chiefdom, the availability of funds for development from chiefdom revenue (more grant per head being allocated to the smaller chiefdoms which, with higher recurrent expenditure per taxpayer, have less for development), the value of projects proposed by chiefdoms, the likelihood of completion, and the enthusiasm of the chiefdom for development. In practice most of the grant was allocated for culverts and bridges on feeder roads, although limited amounts were allocated for wells and public latrines. The grants were paid into chiefdom bank accounts but expenditure on the projects was incurred frequently only after a lapse of two to three years. This was partly due to a lack of reliable contractors, but particularly on account of the funds being utilized, or 'borrowed', for other purposes. The grants frequently became 'frozen' in chiefdom bank accounts until a chiefdom's financial position improved.

In 1960 the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Sir Milton Margai, strongly advocated rural development by communal labour, provided it was voluntarily given. As the Prime Minister toured the country, and addressed district councils and tribal authority meetings he repeatedly told them that they could not expect Government to provide all their needs. He strongly approved of their desire for roads and schools, but his Government's policy was to encourage them to build these by their own voluntary efforts. The introduction of rural development grants, followed by the Prime Minister's encouragement, gave an impetus to chiefdom sponsored development and communal activity. In Bombali district until 1962, with the exception of one school building in Binkolo which was under construction, the communal activity was limited to road projects involving the construction of the road surface and temporary bridges and culverts out of palm logs.

In some other parts of Sierra Leone rural development by communal labour had already been widely accepted. In Pujehun District for example, a considerable number of mainly short feeder roads were constructed in the period 1955-1959. Similarly in Kenema District a substantial mileage of new roads was constructed, especially from 1959-1962. Communal road building was also popular in Kailahun, Bo, and Moyamba districts. In some districts specific encouragement was given by the chiefdom authority to a community with the promise of a lump sum payment on the completion of the road surface. Sums varying between £20 and £50 a mile were paid and distributed amongst those who took part as a 'thank you' for their efforts.

By 1962 approximately 130 miles of road had been constructed by unpaid labour in Bombali district. The majority of this mileage had been constructed before the chiefdom disturbances in 1955, under a system of chiefdom labour. This was an application of the traditional system of forced labour, with the road divided into a number of more or less equal lengths, each of which was allocated to a section of the chiefdom, irrespective of the fact that many sections were required to work on roads which would not serve them. Much of this mileage has, since construction, been taken over and improved by the Bombali district

council. Improvement has included the construction of many permanent bridges. On the other hand, some of the earlier roads have long been in disuse with the collapse of temporary bridges and culverts.[4] The newer roads were built after 1959 by self-help labour without any open use of force, but these were mainly in Sella-Limba chiefdom where a dynamic, educated, ex-military paramount chief was the organizing force. These communal projects were handicapped by a lack of reliable contractors to carry out bridge construction, the absence of suitable tools (usually only matchetes and hoes owned by the workers were available), the absence of suitable supervision and of adequate incentives to those giving their labour. Thus whatever projects were undertaken were, in the main, neither efficiently nor well constructed, progressed slowly and were exceptions rather than the rule, dependent on unusually dynamic local leadership.

In the early 1960's significant social and economic changes manifested themselves in Bombali district as in other parts of the Northern Province of Sierra Leone. The most important was the widespread interest in and willingness to accept, and even welcome, new ideas and change. The peoples of the Northern Province are traditionally more conservative than the Mende people in the southern part of Sierra Leone. Whereas the Mende people generally accepted christian missions and schools in the late nineteenth century and the early part of this century, the Temne and other peoples of the north generally did not. It is not appropriate to go into the reasons for this in this paper, but the consequences of this indifference to education shown by their forefathers, clearly came home to the northern peoples at the time of independence, in 1961. For although almost half the population of the country lives in the Northern Province, it only supplied three of the ministers of the Government at the time of independence. Similarly, a low proportion of young men had reached the senior ranks of the civil service. Moreover it was becoming clear to most men and women that education was the source of all success in modern Sierra Leone. This was to lead to an enthusiasm for education which has made itself felt not only in the rapidly increasing numbers of pupils in Bombali district, but also in the willingness of communities to contribute both money and free labour for the building of new schools.

At the same time as the attitude to education was changing, new forms of farming were being offered to the people of Bombali district. In 1960 the Aureol Tobacco Company introduced tobacco growing, and by 1964 three thousand farmers were tending small plots under close supervision. Although the labour involved is hard and the fortunes of tobacco growers vary considerably, the company officials reported that in most areas there had been more farmers interested in growing tobacco each year than their organization could handle. Similarly, although the mechanical cultivation of rice had been practised for more than ten years in the district, it was only after 1962 that rapidly increasing interest was shown by farmers in this method of farming. Again there was a change in the attitude to women. Amongst the northern peoples of Sierra Leone, as with other areas of West Africa where Muslim influence is relatively strong, women are traditionally relegated to a place of domestic seclusion in society. Unlike Mende country, here no women became paramount chiefs or village heads. Votes for women, introduced in 1956 and extended to all over

[4] About twenty miles of road was constructed in the 1930's in the Sroko Limba chiefdom, most of which was in 1962 closed to regular traffic.

21 in 1961, the preaching of politicians in favour of the emancipation of women, the few young educated women showing their ability in employment and social organization, and the activities of the Social Welfare Department with women's groups, have all contributed towards a change in the status of, and the attitude towards women. Such is the extent of the change that a number of tribal authorities (consisting mainly of elderly and illiterate men) welcomed the introduction of women chiefdom police in 1963.

Finally, at the same time as new ideas and change were becoming acceptable, so the popular aversion for the tribal heirachy, with the paramount chief at its apex, manifest in 1955, faded away. Riot leaders, by the early 1960's, had usually become respectable tribal authority members, or left the chiefdom, or sunk into oblivion. This meant that there was little opposition to a re-assertation of authority, through the chiefdom organization, particularly in new fields. In fact it was given a new lease of life. After independence in 1961 the Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai, frequently preached to the paramount chiefs that as 'the father of their people' they should justify their position by fostering and encouraging development in their chiefdoms. A number of paramount chiefs – particularly the educated – were beginning to do this already, especially in the field of road construction. They were using, and in the process, revitalizing, but modifying, the existing socio-political organization of the chiefdom. The effect of this was to establish, or increase, pride in the community and in the chiefdom, and demonstrate to the educated that the chiefdom organization had its uses in a modern Sierra Leone.

CARE – Peace Corps Rural Development teams

In early 1962 assistance from the U.S.A. in rural development became a possibility with the interest shown in establishing CARE – Peace Corps Rural Development teams. The proposal was that the American philanthropic organization, CARE, which was already operating a national school lunch programme, should be the managing agency for teams of Peace Corps volunteers, trained in rural development. CARE would also supply hand tools and some building materials. Peace Corps would provide some transport (jeeps), for the teams. After a survey of the possibilities, it was agreed with the Sierra Leone Government that, in the first instance, a number of two or three man teams should operate in three districts of the Northern Province – Bombali, Port Loko and Koinadugu. There would be a two-year period of trial and experiment as these were to be the first Peace Corps teams of this kind operating in Africa. These three districts were chosen by mutual consent, because of the need for rural development, and the assessment by the three district officers that communities would in most cases willingly promise voluntary labour. It was proposed that the teams should undertake road, school and water supply projects with communities that had agreed to provide voluntary labour, where funds for the projects existed in the approved chiefdom or district council estimates. The chiefdom also had to provide a counterpart worker to act as interpreter and technical apprentice. The first group of Peace Corps volunteers were given twelve weeks' training and orientation in the U.S.A. and Puerto Rico. The training emphasised physical fitness, simple building and construction techniques, and Temne – the main language in the Northern Province. In November, 1962, two two-man teams were allocated to Bombali district. In addition there was a Peace Corps volunteer leader who covered the teams in all three districts, acting as liason with the project director of the teams, and

the director of CARE in Freetown. One team undertook an eight-mile road, the other a school classroom block.

Initially the teams regarded themselves, and were regarded, as independent agents working with the local communities, local authorities and district officers. At project level, the young volunteers, filled with enthusiasm and the Peace Corps ethic, tried to work directly with the local people by undertaking both physical and supervisory work. Whilst it was clearly important to underline the fact that young American men could live in thatched huts and load bags of cement onto jeeps, responsibility for both project supervision and progress was dangerously divided. Did it rest with the paramount chief and his chiefdom officials who had agreed to undertake the project in the first place; with the counterpart worker; or with the Peace Corps volunteers themselves, and if so which of the two volunteers? Again, what was the position of the district officer? Did he advise the project director that a team should undertake a particular project, or did he direct?

In the first few months work progressed relatively slowly and this had a disheartening effect on the volunteers. However, many useful lessons were learnt. The most important was that there are plenty of willing hands in the average village community but, when unfamiliar techniques are involved, organizational ability is lacking. Related to this, volunteers could only be of permanent value if they could leave a community richer in organizational ability. Again there was the lesson that if the labour of the people is to be continuing and not a seven-day wonder, it has to be integrated in the life of the community. This means that work has to stop for a burial, a society function or the election of a chief. Coupled to this is the rule that the pace cannot be forced by the volunteer undertaking much of the work himself.[5] All these lessons pointed to the crucial importance of the counterpart. It was he who was directly instructed in the techniques of bridge building[6] and who, by direct advice or subtle suggestion, was schooled in organizing a project efficiently and would be able to carry on after the volunteers had gone; the counterpart again was the volunteer's link with the community and could brief him in its many, often unfamiliar, activities and customs. The volunteers also found that there was no value in teams consisting of two; there were problems of personal adjustment; the taking of simple decisions (e.g. where to make a cement store shelter, what time to start work, etc.) was complicated by the need for debate and the reconciliation of often differing points of view. Since the essential elements were the taking of technical decisions and breaking down the work into a series of simple tasks, 'output' could be nearly doubled with volunteers working on separate projects. Finally, with many projects, it became clear that if the voluntary labour was to be anything but erratic and spasmodic, with a consequent waste of a volunteer's time and a lowering of his morale, some form of incentive had to be offered.

Following the trial and error of the first few months, a definite pattern evolved. It was made clear to paramount chiefs and tribal authorities that Peace Corps volunteers were much in demand, but could be made available to supervise technically difficult rural development schemes (this excluded road surfaces,

[5] In the case of the second (and last) school to be undertaken by Peace Corps in Bombali district, the majority of the work was done by the Peace Corps volunteer and by his paid counterpart worker.

[6] A number of counterparts spread their techniques by acquiring their own 'assistants' or 'apprentices'.

but included bridges, culverts, water supplies and schools), if, and so long as, they undertook to provide voluntary labour. As will be explained below, the decision as to which projects a volunteer undertook was made by the district officer after consultation with the chiefdom committees,[7] Peace Corps volunteers and the CARE/Peace Corps Project Director. Before a project was formally accepted, a meeting of the community concerned was usually convened which consisted of the paramount chief, section chief(s) of the section(s) involved in the project, tribal authority members and village head(s) of the village(s) concerned, and as many ordinary men and women as could be mustered. The chiefdom clerk and the Peace Corps volunteer were present and the district officer presided. At these meetings, the Peace Corps volunteer was introduced, the nature and extent of the volunteer labour involved and the incentives that would be offered were clearly explained. After an open discussion of the proposals, the meeting was called to signify formally its agreement to undertake the project. In some cases the section chiefs and village heads fixed their thumb prints, or signatures, to a brief written agreement. The meetings then went on to consider who should be appointed as counterpart worker[8] to the Peace Corps volunteer, and other details, such as the provision of housing for the volunteer and a programme for undertaking the work. Thereafter the progress of the project was organized by the Peace Corps volunteer, in consultation with the counterpart worker, the paramount chief or section chief, and the chiefdom treasurer.

Volunteers worked separately and were given at least three projects to work on simultaneously. Such an arrangement was dependent on each volunteer having his own transport, but it meant that each project could proceed at a pace consistent with the needs of the community. If one project was progressing slowly, then the volunteer could concentrate on another where there was currently greater enthusiasm. A volunteer would work out the technical specifications for the project and then, through the counterpart, set a series of simple tasks – such as collection of sand, collection of stone, breaking of stone, digging of a foundation, digging a trench – to be completed by the occasion of his next visit. Tools were issued on loan from CARE/Peace Corps for the work involved. The volunteer would then proceed to obtain materials required for the project with local purchase orders from the chiefdom or district council.[9] He would arrange the delivery of the materials either in his own jeep truck on the occasion of routine visits, or by hiring lorry transport. When the tasks set had been satisfactorily completed, the volunteer would arrange to be present for the first technically difficult operation – for example, pouring the foundations of a bridge. He would agree upon a day, and through the counterpart worker indicate the number of men who would be required. All technical operations were carefully explained to the counterpart and when the volunteer was satisfied that he could undertake them unaided, these would from then onwards be included in the tasks to be undertaken by voluntary labour with 'counterpart' supervision only. This was all part of the training in organization of projects. The organization and timing of these tasks was left to the counterpart and the paramount chief or section chief.

[7] Committee equivalent to a finance and general purposes committee, elected by the tribal authority with paramount chief as chairman, responsible for the detailed administration of the chiefdom.

[8] Counterpart workers were usually semi-literate with previous experience as masons or carpenters. They were paid a monthly allowance of £5 or £6 voted by the chiefdom committee.

[9] This depended on which authority was financing the project and is explained later.

The incentives varied from project to project, but were not given as a matter of course, and only where necessary. Incentives were not needed for water supplies, and the provision of food for workers on road surface construction would have been too costly. There was, however, a genuine need for some kind of incentive where food supplies were short in the community and were actually needed to supply calories for the additional physical effort put into the project, or where a group of labourers were working regularly and foregoing other forms of even slightly remunerative activity. Incentives were also useful where local interest, often through ignorance, was lacking in a project. Initially, the payment of a lump-sum on completion of a project or section of a project was tried, following experience in other parts of the country. The disadvantage of this method is that those who contribute labour in some cases receive nothing and in many cases do not benefit in proportion to their effort. For this system to be efficiently applied simple time sheets have to be kept, and in many projects there is no one able to do this. Moreover, the channel of distribution in the absence of time sheets has to be through the chiefdom hierarchy, section chiefs and village heads, who are supposed to know who turned out for work. Frequently much of the lump sum was diverted as a 'perq. of office' to these chiefdom officials. Again, whereas it is relatively easy to allocate lump sum payments, at so much a mile, the task is much more difficult in the case of bridges with embankments, or schools, or water supplies. Thus this method, which remained understandably popular with section chiefs and village heads, was with growing experience used rarely and only for the construction of road surfaces. In many chiefdoms any incentive other than the end product itself was unnecessary. Nevertheless, it frequently happened that where it *was* used a road of superior standard was obtained: the district officer inspected the roads and sometimes required certain sections to be re-worked, or drainage gutters to be deepened before payment of the lump sum was authorized. This method was modified in some cases by the division of the lump sum into two, three or four parts and the payment of each after the completion of a part of any assignment. The most efficient incentive to be developed, the most popular with the average labourer, and the one which became used almost exclusively, was the provision of food to those working on school and bridge construction – excluding embankments. After experimenting with more varied ingredients, the standard pattern became one, or more rarely two, 'cups'[10] of dry rice a day to each labourer who appeared on site before 9 a.m. The rice was usually cooked and eaten on site. Although there were a number of instances of 'losses' of rice, this system proved most successful both in increasing the efficiency and work output of the individual labourer and in ensuring regularity of labour supply.

The position of the district officer and district council

The district officer was concerned with rural development in three capacities. Firstly, he was chairman of the rural development committee, which was responsible for allocating and ensuring proper usage of the government rural development grant. Secondly, he was responsible for supervising the preparation of chiefdom estimates by tribal authorities and their presentation to the provincial secretary for approval. Thirdly, he was responsible for forwarding to, and advising the provincial secretary on the annual estimates of the district council. This meant that he was in a position to know, at any time, in what

[10] This is a tin holding 50 cigarettes, and is a standard market measure. The monetary value was about 6d. and contrasts with a basic minimum wage of 6s. 8d. a day.

projects all local authorities were interested and for what projects funds were currently available. It was basically for this reason that the CARE/Peace Corps organization chose to work through district officers rather than district councils. Initially, responsibility for deciding the allocation of teams (volunteers) to projects was not clearly defined. The dangers of this in unbalanced development soon became apparent. In 1962 and early 1963, funds were not a limiting factor as both chiefdom and district councils had accumulated funds from previous years. The Peace Corps volunteers, in the course of their activities, became aware of or were asked to undertake other projects in the same or neighbouring chiefdom. Whilst the provision of labour would not have been in doubt, some of the projects volunteers proposed were not of high priority and had no supporting funds for materials. This issue was settled when the CARE/Peace Corps director realised that his volunteers needed to work directly under the supervision of a representative of Government. This ensured that a friendly eye was kept on the volunteers' activities, and that the development undertaken was of high priority and spread evenly throughout the district. By mid-1963 it was accepted therefore that the final decision as to which project should next be undertaken rested with the district officer.

With what amounted to additional staff for rural development, able to utilize funds of both chiefdoms and the district council, the district officer was in an even stronger position than before to co-ordinate development at district level. He also had additional duties and responsibilities; those of convening the special meetings for the formal approval of projects, and allocating projects to volunteers have already been mentioned. Initially, the central purchasing of cement by the district office on behalf of chiefdoms was tried. This meant collection, storage, issue and accounting by the district office, using staff untrained in storekeeping.[11] This method was eventually abandoned when local traders, realizing the potential business at stake, undertook to provide cement at an equivalent price. As the amount of rural development activity increased, district office staff had to be provided in a supervisory capacity to supplement the Peace Corps volunteers. This was particularly so on projects being undertaken without volunteers or where a volunteer was experiencing labour problems requiring the intervention of someone experienced in chiefdom affairs. For this, all three district office interpreters and one office messenger were used. Their work consisted of laying road traces, inspecting work done by contractors or communal labour (for lump sum incentive payments), holding meetings, and carrying out investigations where there was any serious decline in interest in a project. Finally, a corollary of the responsibility to allocate a volunteer, was the duty to withdraw him if his time was being seriously wasted through lack of interest. Withdrawal was used on three occasions with dramatic effect. In all cases the lack of activity coincided with inadequate interest and participation in the project by the paramount chief and his most influential elders. The overt problems varied from subversive activity by a section chief who wanted the road diverted to pass through his village, to the misuse of rice provided for feeding. In every case the loss of face following the withdrawal of the volunteer was sufficient to stimulate the chiefdom authority to deal with and overcome the underlying problem.

In 1963 the Bombali district council had undertaken by contract for one thousand pounds the complete construction of the four-mile Rosint-Konta

[11] In fact a literate interpreter was used who undertook this and other supervisory work in connection with rural development.

road, i.e. surface, one bridge, and three culverts. By the time all the contract funds had been paid out only two miles of surface and the bridge had been completed. A large embankment, the three culverts, and the remaining surface had still to be done. It became quite clear that as long as a community had hopes of the district council building a road it would be reluctant to undertake construction by communal labour. In mid-1963 the council therefore resolved that in future it would no longer undertake the complete construction of roads, but devote its funds to bridges on roads constructed by communal labour. With this and Peace Corps volunteers largely replacing conventional contractors, the position of the district council with regard to development of the district became radically altered. Its role was no longer an active one. Funds it controlled were still used, but in the main to purchase materials for bridges and culverts that were built by Peace Corps volunteers, with chiefdom provided communal labour, under the general direction of the district officer. This change was accepted by the council. The works supervisory staff were fully committed on road maintenance, whilst the prior allegiance of almost all councillors was to their chiefdom, which had of course become the effective institution for rural development. Relations between council and Peace Corps volunteers, who obtained materials for some projects through the council's organization, were generally good.

Rural development unaided by Peace Corps volunteers

As already indicated, the effect of Peace Corps volunteers was to stimulate enthusiasm for communal labour, increase the scope of projects which could be tackled and cause the rapid spread of self-help projects to all chiefdoms in the district. However, with only three volunteers for the bulk of the two-year period, they could undertake projects in only three or four chiefdoms at any one time. With this cheaper method available, it would have been wasteful of the limited rural development funds to have relied on ordinary full cost contract for bridge and culvert construction in the other chiefdoms. To have kept back development in these other areas until Peace Corps volunteers were available would on the other hand have been neither fair nor practicable. Experiments were therefore carried out in combining contract with communal labour. The contractor's responsibilities were limited to the provision of materials, transport, skilled labour – mason and carpenter – and supervision. Communal labour provided all the unskilled labour, and this was organized and supervized by both the contractor and the paramount chief or his appointee. Thus, the contractor filled the place of both the Peace Corps volunteer, and the counterpart, although his technical standards were rather lower, and a degree of help from the district office (e.g. in transporting materials) was often necessary.

By this method forty-five bridges and box culverts were constructed, as opposed to forty-one by the Peace Corps volunteers over the same period.[13] Compared with Peace Corps constructed bridges additional expenditure was incurred on transport charges, skilled labour, and the supervision of the contractor. But contractor-built bridges usually used less materials, being in practice built to rather lower standards – rather less reinforcement, narrower foundations and poorer finish – and so in fact cost little more. Although generally strong enough for foreseeable traffic, they are consequently likely to be less durable. This method was only practicable with conscientious contractors

[13] It should be noted that none of the contractor-built bridges exceeded 25 ft. whereas 4 of the Peace Corps bridges did, including one of 60 ft.

uninfluenced by ulterior motives, and with strong local organization of communal labour. Fortunately there were four or five contractors in the district who were suitable, three of whom were only prepared to work in their own chiefdoms. In view of the importance of the character of the contractor, tenders were not invited. Instead, a contractor who was acceptable to both the chiefdom committee and the district officer was invited to submit to the district officer a detailed estimate showing the cost of materials, skilled labour, transport and his own supervision. This was carefully checked, normally following a visit to the site, by the district officer, or a member of his staff, and frequently modified before a mutually acceptable contract price was determined. The contract was between the paramount chief, on behalf of the chiefdom, and the contractor; the chiefdom undertaking to provide free sand, stone and unskilled labour. In Sella Limba chiefdom, where voluntary labour was pioneered in the district, this method proved to be particularly successful, and capable of wider application. This was largely due to the organizing ability of the paramount chief. By mid-1964, limited contracts were being awarded for the construction of chiefdom police quarters and a chiefdom maternity centre, with the labour for digging foundations and collecting sand and stone being provided free by the community.

Financing of rural development projects

The financing of rural development projects became increasingly complicated, involving two kinds of Government grant, three local authority accounts, and in some projects, voluntary contributions by members of the community concerned. This arose out of rural development being a partnership between central and local government and the community. Moreover, a guiding principle became the spreading of the two government grants – the rural development grant and the capital grant to district councils – over as many projects as possible. These grants were the basic core of rural development finance, and were effectively supplemented by contributions from chiefdom tax revenue, voluntary contributions from the community, tools on loan from Peace Corps, free transport provided jointly by the U.S. Government (jeeps), and Sierra Leone Government (running costs), materials donated by CARE, and the free supervision by the Peace Corps volunteers. An actual example will illustrate this variety of sources. A gravity feed water supply was constructed at Fintonia, a chiefdom headquarters town with a population of about 450. A breakdown of the estimated cost of the project gives the following results:

	£
Rural development grant (Government)	60
Chiefdom funds (tax revenue)	20
Voluntary contributions[13] at £2 a taxpayer	150
Value of materials and transport donated by CARE/ Peace Corps	80
Value of free labour approximately[14]	200
	£510

[13] This was regarded as a kind of commuted water rate that would have been payable if the water supply was pumped and involved running costs.

[14] This is very rough as no accurate record of numbers per day working, or length of working day was kept. It is based on an average number per day for a given number of days at minimum wage rates.

In this case a grant of sixty pounds from Government had made possible development worth about five hundred pounds.

In spite of the variety of sources, certain definite patterns of finance emerged as the programme developed. Thus the district council allocated its capital grant to materials for roads of district and major chiefdom importance which it would take over and maintain on completion. All incentive payments, feeding and counterpart salaries were financed from chiefdom funds, including allocations from the government rural development grant. In addition, chiefdom funds were used for materials, and their transport, on minor road projects and water supplies. CARE donations[15] consisted of corrugated iron roofing sheets for schools, and plastic piping for water supplies. Normal tool requirements such as picks, shovels, stone-cracking hammers and masonry and carpentry kits were loaned by CARE/Peace Corps, but matchetes, hoes, and head pans[16] were provided by the community, or from chiefdom funds. One problem in rural development financing is that estimates are frequently rough and ready and that in consequence funds are sometimes exhausted before completion. Any delay in providing additional funds could easily cause a decline in local enthusiasm, and make completion by voluntary labour extremely difficult. To obviate this the rural development committee annually left a proportion of the grant unallocated, for disbursement by the district officer in emergencies. This fund was used in a number of instances and enabled the completion of projects without costly delays.

Machinery for co-ordination of rural development

The rural development committee existed to provide the co-ordination of rural development within a district. This committee met once a year and, in practice, as far as allocations were concerned, usually rubber-stamped what had been previously worked out by the district officer in consultation with chiefdom committees in the course of preparing chiefdom estimates. The composition of the committee was too limited for it to be more effective. The members of parliament, whilst they were sometimes members of the district council and their chiefdom committees, had no mandate to represent either. Moreover, each member represented at least three chiefdoms in parliament and yet would only have connections with one. Again one constituency of four chiefdoms was never represented, as the member was the minister for the Northern Province, responsible for approving chiefdom and district council estimates, whose attendance as a member of a committee presided over by the district officer would have been singularly inappropriate.

In an attempt to increase the effectiveness of the committee, the president and secretary of the district council and Peace Corps volunteer leader were invited to attend the meeting held in February, 1963. This proved to be a fruitful meeting, and it was agreed that an *ad hoc* district development committee[17] should be established with a flexible membership whose terms of reference should be "to co-ordinate development activities and place priorities on proposed projects, for the guidance of district council, chiefdoms and the rural development committee". The first meeting was held in July, 1963. At this it was decided to classify road projects within three groups, namely:–

[15] In the early months a certain amount of cement was also donated.

[16] In many cases baskets used in harvesting and pans normally used for carrying water were used instead.

[17] District development committees were never introduced in Sierra Leone during the colonial era.

A. roads of district importance linking two districts or two chiefdom headquarters.
B. roads of importance to a chiefdom as a whole, particularly for economic reasons.
C. roads of a purely local nature, i.e. village roads.

It was noted that under the terms for the provision of government road maintenance grants to district councils, only those in class A and B would be likely to qualify. Known projects were placed in one or other of the three groups, and it was agreed that the district council should be advised to allocate its funds to providing bridges and culverts on class A roads in the first instance, and then class B. Class C roads had to depend on chiefdom and rural development grant funds. This meeting was felt to have a rather limited scope in the absence of the local heads of government departments and divisions. This was particularly applicable to the area engineer who was in a position to hire out heavy equipment at favourable rates, which could have facilitated the making of cuttings and embankments on roads and possibly cheapened the maintenance of district council roads. Following a meeting of all local departmental and divisional heads at a provincial staff conference, an expanded district development committee was held in April, 1964, under the chairmanship of the district officer. In addition to the members of parliament, and representatives of the district council and Peace Corps, the senior agricultural officer, the medical officer, the chief veterinary officer, the divisional forestry officer, the assistant registrar of co-operative societies, the area engineer, the social development officer, and the inspector of schools were invited.

It was considered that the committee should not work to any hard and fast terms of reference but prove useful in four principle ways, namely:–

(*a*) Acting as a clearing house for information regarding development by local authorities, on the one hand, and departments and divisions on the other. This way departments and divisions could obtain up-to-date information, as a basis for planning their future activities, about developments that had already taken place. Similarly, suggestions from departments and divisions as to what developments would assist their own activities helped local authorities in planning their future projects.
(*b*) Enabling a balanced assessment of priorities to be allocated to road, water supply and other projects to be carried out by local authorities. This process would lead to a simple plan for the district.
(*c*) Enabling co-ordination of activities by departments and local authorities for developing a particularly needy area.
(*d*) Considering, recommending, and through its members, implementing, measures for improving co-operation between departments and divisions and local authorities.

The first expanded meeting showed definite promise in considering the development needs of the district from a truly balanced point of view, with each department of government making its own contribution.

Examples of projects: It will be appropriate to illustrate the theme of this article by providing details of two projects, one a road and the other a school building.

Kamaranka – Manhera Road

At a meeting of the Gbanti – Kamaranka Tribal Authority in April, 1963, the tribal authority agreed to undertake this nine-mile feeder road by communal labour. The district officer, who was present at the meeting, agreed to

allocate a Peace Corps volunteer to assist if sufficient enthusiasm was shown for this project. At the same meeting a sum was inserted in the draft chiefdom estimates for the road to supplement the rural development grant funds already available. It was anticipated that these funds would cover the cost of the bridges. Shortly after this, the paramount chief called a meeting of the tribal authority members of the four sections to be served by the road. At this meeting it was agreed that each section should be responsible for the road surface within its boundaries, whilst villages, according to their size and situation, should group together, irrespective of section boundaries, for bridge construction. Usually each village sent two or three men or boys to work each day so that no village was ever handicapped in their farming activities. A citizen of Kamaranka, who had had some training as a mason, was selected as the counterpart. On the strength of these arrangements, the district officer allocated a Peace Corps volunteer. By the time the volunteer first inspected the project in May the road trace had already been marked out and work had started on the road surface. Bridge sites were selected by the volunteer in conjunction with the paramount chief and the counterpart, and the villages concerned proceeded to collect sand and stone. In the meantime the volunteer arranged the supply of materials. Each section had its own road headman who would be informed by the counterpart what work was to be undertaken on the following day. The headman would send word to the village headman about the number of labourers required and the work to be done. Village headmen, in their turn, allocated the labour requirements by houses. The overall planning of the work – the days to be worked, the tasks to be undertaken, the tools, materials, and food requirements – were worked out jointly by the paramount chief, the counterpart, the chiefdom treasurer and, for the technical aspects, the Peace Corps volunteer. A similar use of the chiefdom hierarchy was made if the number of labourers required failed to turn up. The road headman reported the fact to the counterpart, who informed the section chief, and he called the village headmen to account. At the first meeting the tribal authority had agreed that persons who failed, without a good reason, to attend the work should contribute 4s. a day. Before any such 'fine' was inflicted the whole case was referred, through the chiefdom hierarchy, to the paramount chief. Fines were paid directly to him and he used money collected to purchase rice, oranges, groundnuts and bananas for those working. Whilst the procedure for calling labourers, enquiring about non-attendance and inflicting fines was clearly cumbersome, it followed the accepted channels of communication and worked. Moreover, the collection of 'fines' directly by the widely liked and trusted paramount chief avoided suspicions that would otherwise have arisen as to minor chiefs pocketing the 'fines'. Work normally proceeded on every day, except Sunday, after the harvest in late 1963. In the early days, section chiefs cooked rice, in rotation for all labourers. As the project progressed it became apparent that from the funds already approved an amount could be allocated to provide rice for labourers working on the bridges. The purchase and issue of the rice at 1½ cigarette cups per day per labourer was controlled by the chiefdom treasurer, the counterpart making the initial count of labourers present each day. The paramount chief, who was also president of the district council, was present at the main working site every day he was in his chiefdom. He encouraged other section chiefs and elders to do the same, and also to provide drummers to stimulate the labourers.[18]

[18] Rice planting and harvesting by the Temne is traditionally done to the accompaniment of drums.

Realizing the untapped resource existing in the womenfolk[19] of his chiefdom, the paramount chief set about bringing them into the project. He appointed women leaders, called *bomwara*, for each section and following a discussion of the matter it was agreed that they should undertake the collection of sand for bridges and earth for filling embankments. This they did with considerable efficiency and enthusiasm on account of being included in a communal project. Apart from providing additional hands this solved the problem of the shortage of tools for carrying earth and sand as the women possess, and brought with them, either the basin normally used for carrying water or basket used for harvesting rice. Moreover, it was significant that on days the women worked there was a far greater turnout of men. This participation of women is likely to have a lasting effect on the village community by providing a proved method of organizing women which is likely to be increasingly used. The Peace Corps volunteer supervised the construction of foundations, abutments and decking of the first bridge but, realizing the potential ability of the counterpart, left the construction of wing-walls to him. In subsequent bridges more and more of the technical work was left to the counterpart until one bridge was constructed by him unaided. The whole project, involving nine miles of surface, five bridges, and embankments and a number of culverts was completed before the 1964 farming season.

Rogbin School

Rogbin is situated in good farming country. It is a sizeable village of about 600 people with other smaller villages nearby. In 1960 and 1961 the section chief of Rogbin and other influential persons had pressed, through their representatives on the district council, for funds to construct a second classroom block for the existing primary school at Rogbin. Approval of funds was not given by the district council. Consequently a meeting of the Parent/Teachers' Association, a body which had already been established, was held to discuss the situation. It was agreed that the community itself should go ahead and endeavour to build the classroom block. Making this decision was easier, knowing that one of their sons, then a supervisor of schools, and an American missionary would give them moral support. No official support from the chiefdom, the district council or government was sought. It was hoped, although no definite promise of this was ever obtained, that a refund of their actual expenses in constructing the block would eventually be made by the Bombali District Council. It was agreed that parents of school children should pay 10s. per child, to cover the cost of materials. £80 was collected in this way. A number of other persons also donated large amounts, e.g. the section chief gave £30. At the meeting it was also agreed that men, women and school children should give free labour to help in the construction of the school and that the villages of Rogbin, Rononko, Rolip and Rosoto should join together in carrying out the work. Throughout this project the section chief and tribal authority member were the acknowledged leaders for getting and keeping the project going. The work was organized in the following way. The section chief informed the six section leaders of the village, often meeting informally on his verandah, what work would be undertaken on the next day. These persons went round to each household head in their own section of Rogbin or one of the outlying villages, informing the household head that men and boys from his household should

[19] There were more adult women than men, as many of the latter were away in urban or alluvial diamond mining areas.

turn out for work. These six persons were also responsible for arranging people to provide food for those working. Men and boys undertook the collection of sand and stones, the cracking of stones and making of mud blocks. School children helped, under the leadership of their school teachers, in transporting the sand by head load. Women also joined in the project and were organized separately by three persons selected by the section chief for their organizational ability and influence amongst the womenfolk. Women turned out less frequently than the men but helped to transport sand, to dig foundations and in the carrying of water for the making of mud blocks and the plastering of the building. The classroom block consisted of concrete foundations, mud block walls, concrete floor, wooden doors, window frames and rafters and corrugated iron roof. The skilled labour involved in constructing the building was provided by a number of young men from the village, all of whom had had some kind of previous experience in carpentry and masonry. One also provided much of the initiative in starting the project and in laying out the building. Although these people gave all their labour freely, they expected, and were apparently promised, a payment after the work was completed. There was never any lack of interest in this completely spontaneous project, and at no time was it necessary to use threats to persuade people to assist in the work. Although work was not undertaken continuously, it did take place on most days of the week, except Sunday, in the later part of 1962 and the early part of 1963. The money donated voluntarily proved insufficient for materials, and a loan of £100 was raised from the church community at Rogbin who had collected this money for the construction of a new church. In 1963 no further work was undertaken on the school, although for completion, painting and whitewashing of the building was required. However, the classrooms are in use.

Perhaps the most important conclusion is that the type of projects which can be undertaken by a community is limited by a general absence of organizational ability, an ignorance of techniques, and an absence of 'felt-need' for improvement. Overcome these three disabilities and the scope for communal activity is almost unlimited. The ignorance of the techniques of mixing concrete, tying reinforcement rods, joining water pipes, is understandable. The general inability of villagers to organize themselves efficiently is however rather surprising. Fortunately both building techniques and organization can be taught successfully. Counterparts in addition to learning how to take levels, were also ready pupils in learning the ingredients of organization – of breaking down a project into simple tasks, of determining the number of labourers required for each task, foreseeing the need to obtain tools for the labourers, attending the work, placing all necessary materials on site before undertaking each operation. As techniques and organizational ability were acquired by the joint process of teaching and experience, so the scope for communal activity in the best of the communities dramatically expanded. The construction of a concrete bridge using modern materials and methods became as feasible as the construction of the traditional footbridge, using materials from the forest. The knowledge of what projects can improve life in a village is equally important. The conservative villager will have very limited 'felt-needs' until he has seen what others have and enjoy. Once improvements, whether piped water, communal washing slabs, pit latrines, happy children in concrete school buildings, or midwives delivering babies in clean maternity centres, are seen and desired, interest in acquiring them is easily aroused. This is important if communal labour is to become a regular feature of life as, without imagination, a com-

munity can easily run out of projects. Although so much remains to be done in Bombali District as a whole, even in 1964 there are some rural communities which have their roads, their schools, their piped water supplies and maternity centres. One of the important prospects of the district development committee, as constituted in 1964, is that it could stimulate a wide variety of new projects especially those of economic value to the community, such as communally planted palm oil and fruit plantations, communal forests, and communally constructed stores and mills for rice. For the district development committee to be fully effective in this regard it would need to be complemented by similar committees at both chiefdom and village level. At the former these already exist in the form of chiefdom committees, at the latter they have yet to be formally established, although the spontaneous grouping of village leaders and interested citizens in some villages as projects were implemented, amounted to such a committee.

Finally, the revitalizing effect of this experience of self help building projects on the communities themselves should be appreciated. This effect is quite apart from the direct benefits of the improvements which will follow from the completed projects and lies in the very making of a communal effort. The idea of service to the community, of doing something 'for the benefit of my people' is being developed. The emancipation of women is being speeded up in a particularly fruitful way with their contributing to improvements benefiting the community as a whole. Furthermore, the future of such activities is likely to be closely related to the attitude and participation of the womenfolk. Traditional ways, traditional methods of working and traditional channels of communication, by being fully utilized for rural improvement, have been given a new sense of purpose and in a modified form, a renewed lease of life. Many are the occasions when the traditional chiefdom hierarchy seems, especially in the eyes of the educated young men and women, to be a drag on improvement development and enlightenment. Yet it was these hierarchies, often modified by the participation of the educated, which provided the structural skeleton for organizing the projects.

A Study of Panchayat Elections

by K. Seshadri

This paper is a summary of a random sample survey of the behaviour of the people during the elections to panchayat bodies held in May, 1964, in the State of Andhra Pradesh. The area chosen was a block comprising 43 village panchayats. An attempt is also made to describe the various factors that appeared to influence the election.

Physical factors

The proximity of the block to the capital city differentiates it from other blocks which are further away from it and which, therefore, are completely rural. Though no automobiles are owned by the villagers, frequent buses "permit farmer Giles to take his wife and children for an outing so that they may savour the throngs, hubbub and sooty air of city streets".

Economic features in the block do not display homogenity. Some of the village panchayats in the block are essentially satellite towns of the city with white-collared workers and others who have to go to the city for their daily bread. Among these may be included toddy tappers, brick layers, milk vendors and mill hands. Others comparatively far removed from the city are mainly agricultural and hence rural. The problems of development for such divergent types of villages obviously cannot be identical or similar. Their resources, the requirements of extension services that are offered by the panchayati raj bodies, the susceptibility to 'politicking' and hence the quantum of participation by the people are likely to vary.

An important factor that would affect the common villager's active participation is the tangible improvements he is able to see brought about by the developmental planning of the block organization viz., the Samithi, since it is this body that has been recognized as a unit for planning. Apart from the question "how far have the various blocks achieved progress of a meaningful dimension?" the question whether the blocks, as they are divided, are suitable units for rational planning has to be examined. If the block is so demarcated as to maximize its potentialities be they geographical, economic or social and the office of the Samithi is easily accessible to all villagers, the task of proper planning becomes easier and the interest that people evince in their betterment will increase. Such a situation would augur well for a more enthusiastic participation in democratic elections.

This is not a peculiar feature of this block alone. The division of the State into different types of blocks (and Zilla Parishads) pursuant to the enactment of the Andhra Pradesh Panchayat Samithi and Zilla Parishads Act of 1959 was more or less arbitrarily aimed at expediting the Panchayat Raj than to accord with any principle governing regional planning. Hence, up to now the State Government has not been able to arrive at a definite, satisfactory and permanent arrangement. The factors that seem to be conducive to better planning do not always square with administrative and financial viability.

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Questionnaires sent by the Panchayat Raj Ministry to various institutions, officials and University men have not been able to throw clear light on the question of the constitution of the blocks.[1]

The old administrative divisions were essentially revenue divisions and were more arbitrary than scientific. If a division also corresponds with a division made in accordance with the principle of planning, it is a happy coincidence of a highly rare character. This block, however, does not seem to enjoy this rare fortune as the following facts will bear out. Blocks, if they are to be the primary units for planning development and co-ordinating extension services, have to be conceived more or less as 'regions' and some suitable criteria must be fixed according to which they should be formed.

In this sense, a region is envisaged in general terms as a natural area unit, natural in the sense that it is a real existing unit, arising spontaneously from the very structure of society, in contrast to the "*artificial administrative units, which have been imposed in the distant past and often ill-adjusted to modern needs. . . . In all these respects new unit areas are required differing certainly in character* and extent for particular purposes, but better adapted to their purpose than the existing antiquated administrative units."[2]

"It is also essential to realise that the community unit is a geographical area with a considerable measure of unity in its services and organisation, surrounding and including a focal settlement in which these services are integrated. It is in other words an area of common living."[3]

The two quotations above are intended to throw proper light on the necessity for formulating certain general criteria whilst constituting units of development. Though a 'region', as contemplated in the above excerpts may be a larger area than a block and also is applicable to more advanced western societies, yet to the extent that it is applicable to blocks with their own limited areas some similar guiding principles must be laid down.

In this particular block one major defect in delimitation for the purposes of planning, general administrative convenience and for the promotion of 'togetherness' among the people, is the fact that it is divided into two parts by a river and at no place throughout the block area is there even a bridge to bring the two parts together and thus promote personal contacts.

The economic pattern of the people living in both these parts differ in the sense that those on one side of the river essentially depend upon the city while those on the other side depend upon agriculture. As a result of this the number of educated people is greater in that part of the block which is urban-orientated.

If a physical survey were taken throughout the state many anomalies of

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[1] Many writ petitions alleging gerrymandering were filed against the executive order of the Andhra Pradesh Government which sought to readjust the existing blocks. Though the High Court of Andhra Pradesh allowed the writs, the Government of Andhra Pradesh could circumvent the orders of the Court by getting passed *ex post facto* legislation in the Assembly validating the delimitation made by virtue of the Executive order mentioned above. It is not within the scope of this paper to go into a legal discussion on this matter. The delimitation brought about by the executive order has as much rationality (or the lack of it) as the original delimitation had.

[2] Robert E. Dickinson, *City Region and Regionalism*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1952, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 4.

[4] This reminds one of what Mr. H. G. Wells once said. He suggested that the existing administrative divisions in England should be changed as they were outmoded and that new divisions be made on the basis of watersheds.

delimitation, irrationality and haphazardness in this process of planning would be perceived. This wide disparity and divergence coexist in many areas for no other reason than that of the accident of belonging to the same '*taluk*' or revenue unit created by the old British or Native Administrations in arbitrary fashion. This has been sanctified by long years of mute acceptance and indifference. The Administration is not prepared to draw an entirely different map so as to do away with the old revenue lines of demarcation and in their stead to create new lines of socio-economic planning. If the developmental units do not neatly fit into the already existing revenue units, the view seems to be, so much the worse for the former. This identity of administrative units with the newly formed developmental units is one of the reasons for the lack of co-ordination and understanding between the developmental staff and the revenue staff, resulting in mutual fault-finding. A developmental unit (which the block organisation ought to be at least in theory) has been super-imposed on a revenue collecting administrative foundation resulting in an improperly and awkwardly welded structure.

Human factors

I shall here enumerate the factor that would be immediately coherent to the above discussion. But, it does not give it any precedence over other subsequently enumerated factors.

The revenue officials, who operate in the same area together with the development staff, generally represent 'the government' and are feared and able to command many favours when they visit a village. The block officials, on the contrary, are neither feared nor looked upon as friends. The revenue officials could do something negative and punitive. The block official can do only something positive, and has no punitive powers.

One factor has to be borne in mind when studying the local administration and local participation in developing countries. There is a general stress on issues of national importance by the leaders and a relegation of local issues to the background. Characterisation of local interests as being 'narrow', or 'parochial' was common among the national leadership which exhorted the people to keep the large interests of the country at heart and eschew local and sectarian interests and tendencies.[5]

The colonial rule also unconsciously contributed to this national ethos.

"It was one of the favourite theses of the colonial regime that political participation ought to begin at the local level. The administration of the Central Government, it was said, ought to be left to the colonial bureaucracy, the development of village, communal, and municipal councils would provide ample opportunity for the political education of the indigenous population. After having mastered the techniques of democratic politics at this level, the population would be prepared to take over a major share in the government at the provincial level, ultimately at the national. . . .

"Strangely enough (*sic!*), national revolutionaries and the intelligentsia of the dependent countries never looked with favour on this thesis. They called it a

[5] Leaders like Nehru, poets like Rabindranath Tagore and philosophers like Dr. Radhakrishnan exhorted people to transcend the barriers of narrow nationalism and to consider themselves as citizens of an interdependent world. Though this outlook need not necessarily be incompatible with local spirit, in fact, however the wagons of ambitious politicians were generally hitched to the stars, to the total or partial neglect of local interests.

delaying tactic of imperial rule, and sought to plunge immediately into national politics, by-passing the local level."[6]

This is substantially true, though in India, national leaders also participated in many local government units, particularly in urban local self-governing units. But the essential stress remained national.

As a result of this, at local levels, government officials, particularly those belonging to the Revenue and Police came to be looked upon with a certain measure of fear and a feeling of uneasy unfamiliarity and it is no exaggeration to say that these two departments came to be identified with corruption. They were unhampered and undisturbed in this activity by national agitators who were preoccupied with driving the British out. Now suddenly, when the centre of gravity seems to be shifting from them to the newly elected local leaders and the newly created developmental officials, they are understandably chagrined. This factor acquires relevance when it is borne in mind that most of the officials working in the panchayat bodies come from the Revenue department or other old conventional services and as such their heart and soul are not with the panchayat bodies to whom their services are only lent, but with their parent departments. This factor has also raised the question of constituting separate Panchayat services with a separate State Panchayat Service Commission so as to attract personnel who will receive a new developmental orientation and a different departmental loyalty. As a result of these factors conflicts arise between the elected element and the official element, thereby vitiating a positive development of the rural areas.

If once the itchy palms of the revenue officials had to be greased, now those of the panchayat bodies have to be greased as well if one has to get fertilisers, tax-remission, contracts, etc. The office-bearers also have to compensate for the amounts spent by them in combating their opponents and to distribute their patronage to their hangers-on. Eternal vigilance is the price of power and so they have always to keep an eye on their rivals and annihilate them if possible, or win them over by baiting them with unasked favours. It may be argued that all these are inherent in the game of politics, but the sorry spectacle is that of the common villager not getting an iota of benefit from all these gimmicks but being pressurised and threatened to favour this candidate or that. Sometimes when they are abducted to prevent their casting their votes, the game has been carried too far. Decentralisation instead of bringing democracy to the people brings terrorism nearer. Personal contacts make every vote significant and render impossible a freedom of meaningful choice between policies and parties, and programmes and personalities. Patronage, prestige-rating, caste alliances, feudal ties, pressure tactics and malpractices that make it impossible to arrive at any desideratum of people's participation.

In view of all this, the state government tried the experiment of inducing unanimity in panchayat elections. That in its turn has its own problems and vested interests that finally vitiate the development of grass-root democracy.[7]

[6] See Fred W. Riggs *Bureaucrats and Political Development* in Ex. Joseph Le Palombara, *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 131.

Decentralization automatically does not mean that democracy is being extended to local units. More often than not, in emerging nations the first step is national emancipation and consolidation which presupposes centralization. After centralization has been achieved decentralization will take place. See Paul H. Appleby, "Some thoughts on Decentralized Democracy", *India Journal of Public Administration*, October, 1962.

[7] See K. Seshadri, "The Principle of Unanimity in Panchayati Raj Elections in Andhra Pradesh, India", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, October, 1964, for a detailed discussion of this problem.

Coming back to the block in question, the non-existence of other political parties except the ruling Congress party, makes it a less interesting study than in the neighbouring districts where Congress had to contend with the Communist Party. As a result of this, even the impersonal party orientation was not called for, though the Congress Party itself was rent into two factions. The struggle therefore became an interplay of caste, corruption and power with indifference, timidity and vandetta.

The main caste groups that contended were the powerful 'Reddy' community and the toddy-tapping 'Kallal' community, though from the beginning the writing was large on the wall that the latter could not wrest the leadership of the block but only bargain for a few positions by alternating their loyalty between contestants. This is a miniature picture of the whole of state politics, wherein, whoever may be the formal leaders in the government, the substantial leadership will rest only with the representatives of the 'Reddy' community. This in itself need not go against the grain of democracy because caste is a factor of Indian society and democracy will have to acquire the colour of the container, howsoever hoarsely the Indian political scientists may decry this. Empirical studies have borne this out. It may be 'Reddy' in Andhra Pradesh, 'Ezhava' in Kerala, 'Maratha' in Maharashtra, 'Lingayat' in Mysore and so on. The panchayat politics actually accentuated these loyalties because since decentralisation goes deep into the soil all the sophistication and urbanity of the national scene are pushed to the background. Like the Freudian dream where all the dormant feelings of subconscious are pushed up, so all the earthy realities of the Indian rural society assert themselves. That is the raw material from which Indian type of democracy has to be hewn.

The electoral participation in the Panchayati raj elections has been greater than that in the state and central elections. The average percentage of votes polled during the state elections in 1962 in this area was 49.3 whilst the percentage in the panchayat elections was nearly 70. The smallness of the electorate, personal contact between the candidate and the limited number of voters in each constituency which facilitates the use of pressure, persuasion and purchase of the voter are all the obvious factors that contribute to this.[8]

For gauging political participation, the positive voting alone need not be considered as a factor. In a highly educated constituency the general phenomenon is for no one of the highly educated to come forward and contest yet at the same time expressing a deep contempt for all the contestants. The contestants are just Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Hence many votes are not cast and if the vote is taken, it is neutralised and thrown into the ballot box. Moreover today's elections have become so expensive that one of ordinary means cannot think of indulging in them and such of those as do indulge in them think it no immorality to make good expenses they incurred. This makes it almost unthinkable for a man of average means and good education to enter the election fray. Even parties in India support only those who can bear their own election expenditure.

As stated earlier the differentials in participation in the same village do not correspond with education or economic factors. Educated men register low

[8] The role of what Lord Bryce called 'The Opinion Leaders' is very difficult to measure if at all one can discern an opinion leader as such. Hinduism not being a congregational religion does not conduce to the growth of religious opinion leaders, though it certainly encourages many pious men. One may find certain respected elders or moulvis and mullahs among Muslims who may wield certain influence. A Brahmin, though ubiquitous, has ceased to be an opinion leader.

percentages of voting in certain constituencies and in others high percentages. Comparatively prosperous villages have recorded both high as well as low percentages of voting. Generally, very factious constituencies recorded a higher percentage in an atmosphere charged with tension and reeking with toddy.

Many of the people in the village see the Panchayat institutions, with their cattle pounds, taxes on fisheries, professions, shops and various other activities in which they indulged previously without let or hindrance, as nothing but instruments for further mulcting them of their money. Therefore, no candidate can afford to levy fresh taxes and thus incur the displeasure of the local people on whose favour he has to depend for his next election. This, whilst blunting the edge of decentralisation and local autonomy, makes them more and more dependent upon the state government for augmenting their meagre resources. A spirit of mendicancy becomes incidental and the leaders of the local bodies 'learn the lesson' of depending upon the state ministers' favours for the success of their term of office in their villages. This factor has an indirect effect upon an intelligent electorate when two candidates stand before it soliciting its vote. It is naive to think that the state ministers would observe a holy Brahminical attitude of neutral detachment from all the happenings in the panchayats, howsoever piously they may declare. Electing a person who belongs to the group or faction of the minister would mean quick and efficient implementation of beneficial schemes in the village without much financial liability, whereas electing a man who does not belong to the ministerial group, howsoever honest and respected he might be, deprives him of the capacity to bring benefits to the village, to wit, he may not even continue to enjoy office till his term is completed. This position would not arise but for the fact of Congress Party enjoying unopposed sway in the country. All political jockeying for power has to be within the walls of the Congress Party and not outside of it. Official co-operation with a candidate who does not enjoy the patronage of the minister will be half-hearted. The irritations that he will receive from his opponents will be endless till he bends before them or breaks. Who would like to back such a jockeyless horse?

Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, President of the All India Panchayat Parishad,[9] would like these bodies to be maintained as 'sovereign' rural governments kept free from interference by state and union executives and not be treated as their subservient limbs. In course of time he wants a constitutional amendment to that effect. He would also like to educate the voters in the country about Panchayati Raj.[10]

Commendable as these ideas are, they are idealistic and far removed from reality. Such sovereignty for local government in these days is clearly unthinkable; especially as with national planning no autonomy would be possible. And as long as the people who vote for Panchayati Raj bodies are also the people who vote for Central Parliament and state legislatures, it is very difficult to see how the executives of these higher tiers could stand and watch the happenings at the lower level. Politics, it is said, is the art of the possible. Forces of centralisation and decentralisation will always be acting and interacting against each other and at different levels of time and space they will achieve different types of balance with more of the one and less of the other. It is only a question of accent.

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[9] Parishad means a conference or congress.

[10] *Times of India*, Saturday, 10th April, 1965.

In the meanwhile, as people get freed from the shackles of their ignorance, timidity and apathy, they will be participating in the elections with different degrees of intensity, not rigidly and necessarily conditioned by formal education, or economic conditions or even caste and party affiliations as to a large extent they seem to be at present.

APPENDIX 1

TABLE A. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OPINION CATEGORIES AND PROFESSIONAL CATEGORIES—A MULTI-VARIATE ANALYSIS

(*in approximate percentage*)

Educated classes

Opinion categories	*Trade and commerce*	*Transport and communication*	*White collared*
1. Those who do not come for P.R.	30	40	30
2. Those who do not know what this is all about	10	20	5
3. Those who voted:–			
(*a*) because a candidate (or some one on his behalf) requested him	25	30	25
(*b*) because P.R. has done some good;	15	10	10
(*c*) because P.R. is good and can do some good though at present it has not done much good	15	0	20
(*d*) because they must participate in election ('a responsible citizen')	5	0	10

The figures by no means can be claimed as exact ones. In a Panchayat of less than 2,000 voters about 200 were interviewed. So these figures are about as exact as 10 per cent. of the electorate can give an indication of the totality. Even then, quantification is beset with many limitations about which at the early part of this paper we have dealt with. Answers of only 150 could be classified. The team approach is meant to avoid bias. The respondents were chosen at random – one in seven in the lines and groups. The questions had to be in Telugu or Urdu. No immediate notes could be made as that would drive the respondent into his shell at once. So, much dependence had to be placed on the doubtful testimony of a slippery memory. In spite of these shortcomings, we feel that the trend shown here is as near an approximation to reality as could be got under better conditions of data collecting and processing.

TABLE B. MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS
(*in percentage*)

Uneducated class

Opinion categories	*Cultivators*	*Agricultural labourers*	*Construction workers, etc.*
Those who do not care for P.R. and so did not vote	20	30	20
Those who do not know what this is all about; so did not vote ...	15	30	30
Those voted:–			
(*a*) because a candidate requested him (or some person asked him on behalf of any candidate)	35	30	40
(*b*) because Panchayats have done some good	20	10	10
(*c*) because Panchayat system is good and can do some good though at present it has not done much good	9	0	0
(*d*) because they must participate in elections ('a responsible citizen-attitude')	1	0	0

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

(This is a rough translation of the questions put either in Telugu or Urdu or in both, to elicit the answers as summed up in the columns. They were not necessarily in this sequence. The difficulties encountered in eliciting direct answers from the respondents were detailed in the narration.)

1. Name and 'house' name (from which with certain experience one could guess the caste).
2. Caste (if the name does not give any indication of the caste suffix and the house name is not clear to the questioner).
3. Occupation (usually those engaged in agriculture as peasants or labourers and wage earners who did not have a fair knowledge of the 3 r's).
4. Education – knowledge of Telugu and/or Urdu and degree of knowledge.
5. Did you vote? (usually the answer was the person or the symbol to whom vote was given).
6. For what are these elections taking place?
7. Did you vote before, if so, when and for what?

8. Do you find any use in this voting?
9. Did you have any work today? If so, did you leave the work for the election?
10. Who are those people standing for the election?
11. Do you know them?
12. Did the candidate ask you for your 'precious' vote?
13. Did any of your relatives or friends ask you to vote for any one?
14. Did your *maistry* ask you? (*Maistry* is a work-gang leader.)
15. What is this panchayat business? If you don't know, did not any one tell you?
16. What did the last panchayat do? Is it any good?
17. Do you think that these people are collecting money and 'swallowing' it?
18. Are there quarrels and factions in your village?
19. Have they become intensified due to elections?
20. Did any one offer money for the vote or did any one offer conveyance for your coming here?
21. Who is this B.D.O. Is he like Tahsildar or is he different? If different, in what way?
22. Do you see those new wells and new road – who gave them to you?
23. Do you see that small office? Did you ever go there? What is done there?
24. Do you know what is this Samithi?
25. If you did not vote,
    (*a*) Is it because you don't like any one of the candidates?
    (*b*) The polling office is too far away?
    (*c*) You have work?
    (*d*) You think unnecessarily some one or the other will be offended?
26. Do you know, Gandhi, Nehru, Nizam, the British?
27. Do you have any *sangham* (trade union, etc.)?
28. Are there only Congress 'people' and Communist 'people' or are there any other 'people'?
29. Do you think that *Panchayat Raj* is any use?
30. If useless, is it because they ask you to pay taxes?
31. Do you know that Chinese have invaded our country?
32. Do you know of the village volunteer force?

The Evolution of Local Administration in French-speaking West Africa

by T. G. Brierly

I shall try in this article to describe the main changes that have been made to the systems of local administration in French-speaking West Africa between 1957 and the middle of 1965. In 1957[1] the French handed over responsibility for most internal affairs to newly elected councils of government in the eight territories of French West Africa – Senegal, Dahomey, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Niger, Soudan (now Mali) and Upper Volta – after conceding internal autonomy to the trust territory of Togo. Guinea was the first to change the system of local administration inherited from the French, just before that country shocked France in 1958 by opting for independence instead of joining the new Community as an autonomous republic like the other territories. The Soudan and Senegal, linked in the abortive Federation of Mali from 1959 to 1960, made changes to their systems of local administration in those years. The Ivory Coast, Togo, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Mauritania also made changes shortly before these countries became independent in 1960; but Niger waited until the end of 1961, over a year after independence, before making its first main change. A further series of major reforms to their systems of local administration were made in 1964 in Togo, Senegal, Dahomey, Guinea and Upper Volta; and in 1965 in Niger. It is not entirely co-incidental that this latest series, which have tended to tighten central controls, have followed a coup d'état in Togo, an attempted coup in Senegal, a revolution in Dahomey, and armed subversion in Niger. More changes will doubtless follow in all these countries.

In order to understand the main changes that have so far been made to local administration in French-speaking West Africa, it is necessary to have some idea of the system in France and also of the system used by the French in West Africa before 1957. The system in France not only had an inevitable influence on French methods of colonial administration but seems to have been used as a point of reference, if not a model, for many of the reforms made in French-speaking African States since independence; for these states wish to be modern and France is the developed country that they know and understand best. The system of local administration used by the French in West Africa before 1957 was a uniform one and provided a common point of departure[2] for all the French-speaking West African territories, in marked contrast to the variegated British systems that were adapted to suit the conditions of each colony.

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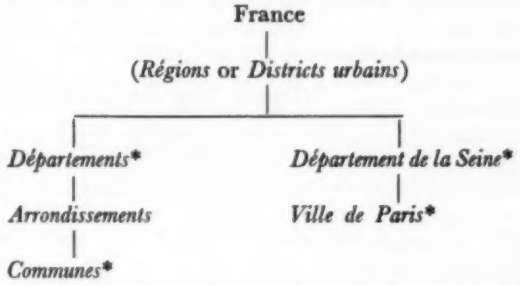
[1] Under the provisions of the *Loi Cadre* of 23rd June, 1956, which also applied to the four territories of French Equatorial Africa and to Madagascar.

[2] The writer is indebted to Professor P. F. Gonidec, a famous French administrative lawyer, for suggesting the terms 'point of reference' and 'point of departure'.

Point of reference: the system of local administration in France



* Local areas with corporate personality, own finances and elected councils.

The most unusual structural feature of the system in France is that the basic administrative units, the towns and villages, are all classified together as communes. These municipalities date from the communities existing at the time of the French Revolution of 1789. There are nearly 38,000 of them, varying enormously in size, but fundamentally all regulated by legislation originating from the law of 5 April, 1884. Each commune has a municipal council (*conseil municipal*) elected by universal suffrage every six years, and the council elects its executive, the mayor (*maire*), who serves for the same period as the council. The mayor also performs certain statutory duties for the State.

The communes are grouped into 90 departments (*départements*)[3] which, for administrative convenience are sub-divided into three or four *arrondissements* each. In charge of each department is a prefect (*préfet*) who is appointed by decree and need not necessarily be a civil servant; the prefectoral system was first instituted by Napoleon in 1800. The prefect is the representative of the State but he is also the executive of the elected departmental general council (*conseil général*). The powers of this council, based on the law of 10 August, 1871, are limited by the large number of obligatory social services that have to be provided out of the departmental budget, but it serves to prevent a prefect exceeding his authority, for its members generally include prominent politicians.

The Minister of the Interior is ultimately responsible for most aspects of local administration, but responsibility for supervising the communes has, in most matters, been delegated down to the sub-prefects at the *arrondissement* level, since in France these are highly trained career administrators.

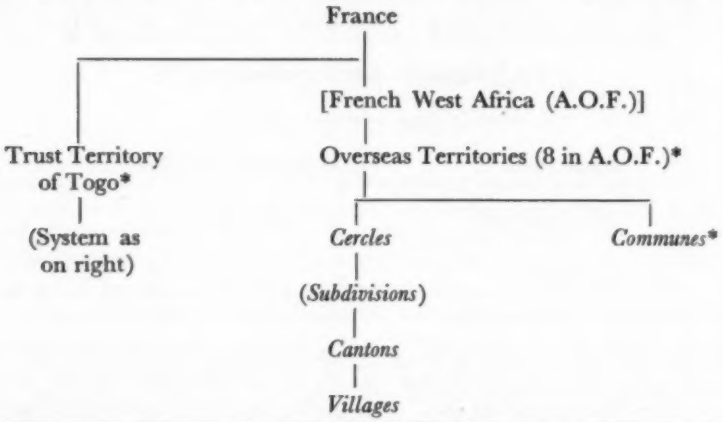
Paris, because of its riotous history, has been ruled much more directly than the other communes. It and other large conurbations that have spread over areas covered by several local authorities are being re-organized as urban districts, and the departments are grouped into regions for purposes like security and development. The tendency in France is towards larger units and greater centralization, despite local objections.[4]

In France, there are only two areas of local administration with corporate personality, their own elected councils and finances: the department and the commune. Therefore French logic ultimately envisaged two similar institutions for French overseas territories, which were considered as Overseas France

[3] Plus four overseas departments: Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana and Reunion.

[4] For a full description of the system in France, see Brian Chapman's *Introduction to French Local Government* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1952), and Hervé Detton's *L'Administration Régionale et Locale en France* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960).

Point of departure: the system of local administration in French West Africa before 1957



* Local areas with corporate personality, own finances and elected councils.

(*France d'Outre-Mer*) rather than as potentially independent countries. African villages with pagan or illiterate inhabitants, however, could not immediately be made into communes with elected mayors and councils, and so communes were only set up in towns where there were sufficient numbers of French citizens (including qualified Africans) to provide some sense of civic responsibility.

Viewed from Paris, the equivalents to the departments were the overseas territories themselves. Thus, after a representative general council had been established in each of these territories in 1946,[5] and each territory had also been granted the right to elect one or two deputies to the French Parliament, the French did not concern themselves very much with setting up elected councils with financial powers at any more truly local rural levels of administration. The general councils in French Africa, renamed territorial assemblies in 1952, have subsequently evolved into National Assemblies and are therefore outside the scope of this article.[6]

Each territory, including Togo, was divided administratively into about a dozen *cercles*, although there was a tendency to make more *cercles* as administration became more complex. A typical *cercle* had a population of about 100,000 and was administered by a commandant (*commandant de cercle*), a civil servant responsible for the command (*sic*) of his *cercle* to the territorial Governor. Segments of some of the larger *cercles* were administered through subdivisional officers (*chefs de subdivision*), who were directly subordinate to the commandant. After 1919 (Togo, 1922), the commandants were advised by councils of notables (*conseils de notables*) consisting of local chiefs and prominent personalities appointed by the Governor. These councils met about once a year and were

[5] Senegal, France's oldest colony, had had an equivalent body since 1920 and a council representative of French citizens only (including African inhabitants of Dakar, Saint-Louis, Gorée and Rufisque) since 1879. These citizens had been represented in the French Parliament since 1871.

[6] For a detailed description of these territorial assemblies of local administration in French West Africa during the period of French rule, see L. Gray Cowan's *Local Government in West Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).

supposed to be consulted on matters like local public works projects and taxation problems, but they had no statutory powers. In Togo, perhaps because of its special status as a trusteeship territory, the councils of notables were replaced in 1951 by indirectly elected divisional councils (*conseils de circonscription*) that in 1955 were allowed to vote a local budget.

The *cercles* were divided into cantons. A typical canton had about 7,000 inhabitants grouped into about fourteen villages. The canton chief (*chef de canton*) was responsible for the good order of his area. He was in theory chosen by traditional means and confirmed by the Governor but, since most cantons were artificial creations not corresponding to traditional areas, many ex-interpreters or others who had no traditional claims to chieftanship were appointed. Some of the more important traditional chiefs were, however, recognized as paramount chiefs (*chefs supérieurs* or *chefs de province*), which meant that they took precedence over other chiefs of their tribe on ceremonial or religious occasions, but their administrative powers were generally restricted to their own home cantons; the most influential traditional chiefs were in the Upper Volta and Niger. The canton chiefs were paid as 'auxiliaries of the administration' and allowed their own secretaries; they did not, however, have their own 'native treasuries' or administrations, for French rule in West Africa, unlike British, was essentially direct.

At the foot of the administrative pyramid were the village headmen (*chefs de village*), nomadic clan headmen (*chefs de fraction*) and town ward headmen (*chefs de quartier*). These headmen were responsible for the good order of their areas and for collection of tax, from which they were paid percentage allowances. They were normally selected by the heads of families and their appointments were confirmed by the commandant.

The larger towns were administered separately from the rural areas just described. The earliest French settlements in Senegal – Saint-Louis, Gorée, Rufisque and Dakar – whose inhabitants had enjoyed the rights of French citizenship since 1848, were made into communes similar to those in France, between the years 1872 and 1887. They were the only towns in French Africa to have elected mayors as well as elected councils before 1955 and, by virtue of this fact, they were called full communes (*communes de plein exercice*). Other towns given communal finances from 1904 onwards were termed mixed communes (*communes mixtes*) because they had municipal commissions nominated by the territorial Governor in equal numbers from those with French citizenship and those without such status; their mayors were administrative officers. Provision was made in 1920 for these commissions to be elected either by restricted or by universal suffrage, but little was done about this in practice until after the 1939-1945 War. By 1955 there were 18 mixed communes in French West Africa with nominated commissions and 35 with elected councils, although still with appointed mayors. At last, after six years of argument, the French Parliament passed the Overseas Municipal Reform Law of 18 November, 1955, that upgraded to full communes 44 overseas municipalities, including 26 in French West Africa and four in Togo. This law applied most of the French law of 5th April, 1884, already mentioned, to these new communes. Municipal elections by universal suffrage were held on 18th November, 1956, and the resultant municipal councils elected their own mayors for the first time.[7]

[7] For a full account of the background to this important reform, see Kenneth Robinson's article "Local Government Reform in French Tropical Africa", *Journal of African Administration* (London: October, 1956), Vol. VIII, No. 4.

Reforms after 1957

In 1958, the radical new Guinea leaders abolished the canton chiefs, who had become thoroughly unpopular because of their association with French rule and their abuses of office, and replaced them by civil servants in charge of new districts (*arrondissements*). The village headmen henceforth had to be elected and advised by elected councils. The former *cercles* and *subdivisions* were replaced by new divisions (*circonscriptions*) with corporate personality, their own finances and locally elected councils whose decisions were, however, to be supervised and executed by the government divisional officers. The real power in Guinea, however, lay with the ruling political party, the P.D.G. (*Parti Démocratique de Guinée*), which was highly organized on a cellular basis at all levels of administration. The formally constituted local councils, and indeed the administrators themselves, were emanations of the party machine; just as at the summit the Government only executed policy that had been approved by the Political Bureau of the party.[8]

In one-party States such as exist in most of francophone Africa, the administrative officers and local councillors are usually also party members and so clashes tend to be avoided. The local council votes funds for a certain project, the administrator supervizes its execution, and the local party committees explain it to the populace and enlist their enthusiasm and, if necessary, manual support. The role of the political party in local administration, though important in practice, is rarely mentioned in the laws and in this article I shall concentrate on describing the legal structure.

In almost every French-speaking West African country, the *cercles* inherited from the French were broken down into smaller divisions, called *circonscriptions* or by various other names,[9] but usually corresponding in area to the former subdivisions. The main reason for this was that the African administrative officers who took over from the French were relatively inexperienced and at first found it hard to handle large areas. As more trained staff has become available from the *Ecoles d'Administration* opened in every francophone African country on French models, the divisions have been grouped for administrative convenience into provinces, generally called *départements* or *régions*, under provincial commissioners (*préfets* or *gouverneurs de régions*, under provincial commissioners (*préfets* or *gouverneurs de région*) appointed by and responsible to the President of the Republic, who in most cases is the executive head of the State.[10] Elected councils with financial powers have been added to either the divisional or the provincial level of administration.

Perhaps the easiest way to identify common trends from the changes in local administration that have occurred in the various countries of French-speaking West Africa since 1957 is to compare two fairly typical present structures and then to examine what has happened at each of the different levels of administration. Two small neighbouring countries, Togo and Dahomey, have structures that seem to lend themselves well for this kind of comparative analysis:

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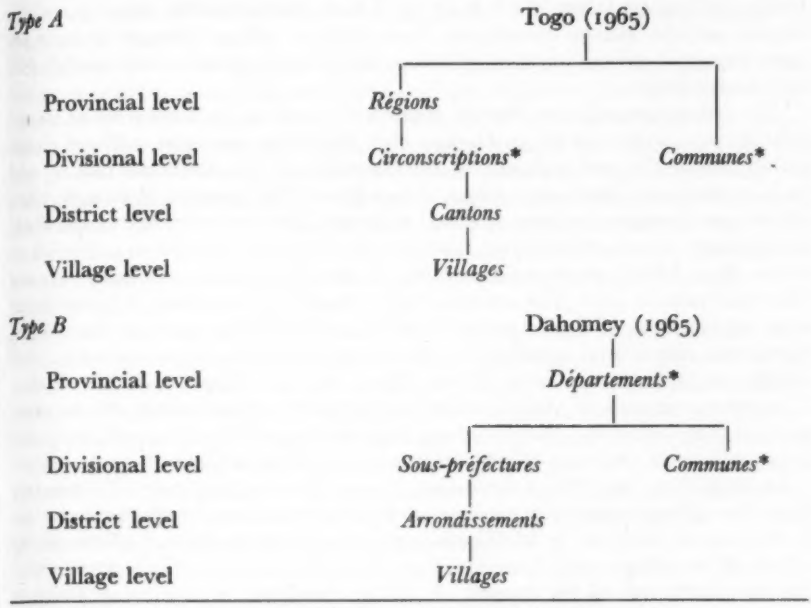
[8] For an account of the suppression of the chieftancy in Guinea, and of the relations between the party and the administration, see I. Gray Cowan's chapter on "Guinea" in *African One-Party States* edited by Gwendolen M. Carter (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), pp. 198-201 and 208-211.

[9] For example, in Dahomey, the 10 French *cercles* have become 29 *sous-préfectures;* in Mali the number of *cercles* has increased from 16 to 42) and in the Ivory Coast the 19 original *cercles* have been progressively fragmented into no less than 104 *sous-préfectures*.

[10] In Dahomey, executive powers are vested in the Vice-President.



* Local areas with corporate personality, own finances and elected councils.

The first difference that strikes one between these two structures is that the nomenclature, except for the communes and the villages, is different. The tendency in fact has been to replace the former French colonial terms by French metropolitan terms, but there has been no more consistency in the use of terms in French-speaking than in British-speaking Africa.[11] What is common to every French-speaking West African territory, however, is that there are now four hierarchical levels of administration which – using Northern Nigerian terminology – we may call for simplicity: the province, the division, the district and the village (or nomadic group). There is also an urban level that, except in Guinea, is still called the commune and which is generally equivalent in status to the division and administered separately from it.

It will be noticed that in both diagrams there are only two areas with corporate personality, locally elected councils and their own finances. In every French-speaking West African country except Guinea, one of these areas is the urban commune; but whereas elected councils are found at the provincial level in Dahomey, Senegal and (in law) in Ivory Coast and Mali, they are at the divisional level in Togo, Guinea, Mauritania, Niger and Upper Volta.

Let us now look at the new systems in detail, at the different levels of administration:–

Village level

Village and nomadic clan councils elected by universal suffrage have been set up in Guinea, Mali and Dahomey; and by restricted suffrage in Mauritania.

[11] For example, a Senegalese *département* is equivalent to a Dahomeyan *sous-préfecture*, whereas a Dahomeyan *département* is at the same level as a Senegalese *région*. But in British terms, we find districts and divisions in Northern Nigeria and Tanganyika having converse meanings.

Unlike in France, where there is no legal distinction between the urban communes and the village communes, these African village councils do not yet have financial powers because education and development at this level is still very rudimentary.

The village councils are elected every five years: in Dahomey by universal suffrage and secret ballot, in Guinea and Mali[18] by universal suffrage either secretly or 'orally and publicly' at the discretion of the divisional officer, and in Mauritania by electoral colleges of headmen. The number of village councillors now averages between five and thirteen. The minimum age of members in Dahomey has recently been raised to thirty; and in Guinea and Mali to twenty-five. Meetings are held monthly, except in Mauritania where they are only held twice a year. The councils 'assist' the village headmen, but the latter must accept their advice in matters laid down by statute, such as conciliating customary disputes or apportioning community labour. There are no elected village councils in the Ivory Coast, Niger, Senegal, Togo or Upper Volta. Customary councils of village elders still operate rather desultorily in some areas of these countries, but the village organisation of the ruling political party is probably now the most effective instrument of local initiative.

In Dahomey, the village headman is now (since 1964) elected separately from the village council; in Guinea he is the person who heads the party list in the council election; in Mali he is appointed by the divisional officer on the advice of the village council; and in Mauritania the functions of a headman who dies are entrusted to his council. A village headman in the Ivory Coast is appointed and dismissed by the Provincial Commissioner, but in Senegal the approval of the Minister of the Interior is required. In Niger the headman is selected for life by traditional means, subject to confirmation by the divisional officer; in Togo by traditional means if the post is traditional and elected if it is not; and in Upper Volta a 1964 reform says that village headmen should in future be elected under administrative supervision 'whenever a vacancy occurs'. Civil servants are in all these countries ineligible to be village headmen.

The duties of a village headman, assisted where applicable by his council, are everywhere much the same. He is responsible to the district administrator for the good order and cleanliness of his village, for crop protection, and (except in Ivory Coast) for tax collection and the conciliation of customary disputes; in Guinea and Togo he can also be made responsible for registering vital statistics. Village headmen are not paid salaries but allowances of up to 6 per cent. of tax they collect, according to the speed of collection (up to 12 per cent. in nomadic areas).

District (former canton) level – chiefs and their replacements

The canton chiefs, who had become unpopular during the period of French rule because of various abuses, particularly in tax collection, and because they were considered politically as 'stooges' of the metropolitan power, had been replaced, as already mentioned, in Guinea and Mali by a lesser number of district administrators. The same has occurred in Senegal (1960) although many of the better young chiefs have been absorbed into the civil service and posted as administrators away from their home areas. New districts (*arrondissements*) were also introduced in Dahomey (1960), but "the chiefs in service remain

[18] Before 1963, women were ineligible for election to village or clan councils in Mali, and they could not vote in nomadic areas.

at the disposal of the administrative authority for all tasks that might be confided to them".

In Mauritania, the policy is called *voie d'extinction*, i.e. not to replace a chief whose post falls vacant through death or any other reason. In Ivory Coast, nearly seventy (out of a total of 271) chiefs have not been replaced in recent years. In Niger, the customary rights of chiefs over land were abolished in 1962, but several new installations of chiefs have occurred recently and they are still influential. On the other hand, in another country with strong traditions, the Upper Volta, chiefly displays have been expressly forbidden since 1962 and chiefs who die are not to be replaced 'in any form whatever'. The administrative functions of the canton chiefs are in most countries progressively being taken over by government officers.

In areas where chiefs still function, such as Togo and Niger, they are paid fixed allowances (£100 to £600 p.a. is about the range) plus 2 per cent. of tax collected in their areas. They act as intermediaries between the administrators and the village headmen, supervise tax collection and conciliate in farming and other civil disputes involving more than one village. Their future prospects can perhaps best be summed up by what the Togo Minister of Interior said at a recent installation ceremony in that country: "If the chieftancy goes back to its old errors of favouritism and injustice, it will disappear for ever . . . the chiefs will forge their own destiny by their deeds".[13]

Divisional level

In Dahomey, Mali, Ivory Coast and Senegal, the divisional level of administration is purely governmental and there are no local councils attached to it. It is administered by a divisional officer who, in Mali at least, is now under a statutory obligation to hold weekly meetings with the heads of the government technical services in his area.

In other countries of French-speaking West Africa, the divisional councils vary in size from eight to thirty-four councillors, all elected by universal adult suffrage every five years (Mauritania six years) on party lists; in addition, members of the National Assembly are ex-officio members of these councils in Guinea and Upper Volta. Councillors must be aged at least twenty-five in Mauritania, twenty-three in Upper Volta and be literate in Togo. Those ineligible include police and army officers, civil servants and local staff. In all five countries, the council executive is the divisional officer, who is a civil servant normally appointed by decree. Each council elects annually its own chairman and other officers in Guinea, Togo and Upper Volta; but in Mauritania and Niger the councils are presided over by the divisional officers. In Niger, Togo and Upper Volta, each council now elects a permanent committee that assists the divisional officer over matters like the agenda for council meetings, the preparation of the budget, and the approval of contracts. Two council sessions are normally held a year, each session lasting a maximum of fifteen days; in Niger there are three meetings of ten days each; and in Upper Volta four of eight days. Councillors are paid sitting fees, not salaries.

The main task of these councils is the voting of the annual divisional budget, which is prepared by the divisional officer, usually with the help of a council committee. These budgets are generally speaking much smaller than corresponding local budgets in English-speaking territories, and average between

[13] Reported in *Togo-Presse*, 24 April, 1965.

£10,000 and £30,000 in local currency. Certain services, such as the maintenance of local roads and primary school buildings, must obligatorily be paid from the local budget although the actual amount is left to the council's discretion; if there are sufficient funds, the council can supply a new service on its own initiative. All local budgets, however, require higher approval, usually, by the Council of Ministers or the Minister of the Interior; in Mauritania small budgets (under £14,000) can be approved by the provincial commissioner. The local funds are normally kept by a state accountant and expenditure is authorised by the divisional officer, who is also responsible for engaging locally paid staff on the same conditions as governmental staff. Revenue comes from government grants, local taxes and/or percentage additions (*centimes additionnels*) on government taxes, market fees, etc. The rates are decided by the local council, subject to limits laid down by law and to higher approval.

The effect of recent reforms seems to have been to tighten central control over the divisional councils. For instance, in Togo, the decisions of the council were executed by an executive committee under the original 1959 legislation, now (since the 1963 *coup d'état*) they are executed by the administrator; in Upper Volta, all divisional council decisions have since 1964 required higher approval.

Provincial level

The new provinces (*départements* or *régions*) were instituted to enable the central governments to supervise the growing number of divisions through presidential delegates whose duties were at first more those of inspecting and co-ordinating than commanding. In Senegal, the provinces were made for economic as well as administrative reasons and the provincial commissioner presides over a partly elected development committee that prepares the provincial development plan. The tendency in Senegal and elsewhere, however, is to increase the powers of the provincial commissioners, particularly over any matters affecting security. They are appointed by presidential decree and need not necessarily be civil servants.

Guinea provides an interesting recent (November, 1964) example of the interplay of politics and administration at this level. There, the four new provincial commissioners, who have ministerial status (*ministres-délégués*) must be members of the Political Bureau of the *Parti Démocratique de Guinée* and are personally responsible to the President of the Republic for supervising and co-ordinating all political as well as administrative and economic activities in their areas. All communications from lower echelons to the central government must pass through the commissioner who is the administrative head of his province. He is assisted by an 'administrative conference' of divisional officers, party leaders (the federal secretaries of the P.D.G.) and the local heads of government technical services; this conference meets twice a year.[14]

In Mali since 1962, rather similarly composed provincial committees have been set up of the divisional officers, members of the National Assembly and party leaders to advise the provincial commissioners on the preparation of the new provincial budgets, pending the still awaited implementation of an earlier law authorizing provincial councils to be elected by universal suffrage. The provincial budgets in Mali now range between £500,000 and £1 million each,

[14] *Décret* 486 *PRG* of 17th November, 1964.

since a large number of subjects were transferred to them from the state budget in 1963.

Efforts to institute elected provincial councils have rarely met with much success, for the provinces are generally too large and artificial to inspire feelings of local pride, and the cost of staffing and subsidizing new local authorities at such a high level is great. In Ivory Coast, the provincial councils (*conseils généraux*) elected in April, 1959, for four of the six provinces had not met by 1965, nor had any provincial budgets ever been prepared, and an Upper Volta law of 1963 providing for indirectly elected provincial councils has so far not been put into effect. The provincial councils in Dahomey were dissolved in December, 1963, after a revolution had overthrown the previous government, but new councils were elected in 1964.

The laws for the provincial councils in Dahomey and Senegal provide that their chairmen and *bureaux* shall be elected annually by the councils, but that the executives shall be the provincial commissioners. In other organizational respects they are very similar to those already described at the divisional level, although they are rather larger in size (forty to fifty-six in Dahomey) and members are older (aged at least twenty-five in Dahomey).

Urban level (communes)

The French Overseas Municipal Reform Law of 18th November, 1955 (including the French Municipal Law of 5th April, 1884), that regulated the affairs of all the urban communes in French Africa before self-government still provides the basis for most communal legislation, but it has been re-codified or modified in every French-speaking West African country.

In Guinea the five former communes have since 1959 lost their separate identity and been merged with the divisions; Conakry, the capital, is treated as a separate division. In Dahomey, the five communes were turned into urban divisions, under direct administration with nominated advisory councils in 1962, but since the October, 1963, revolution, a new law has been passed re-instituting communes with elected municipal councils and mayors. These new communes, however, are administered as 'integral parts' of their respective provinces, their finances are included as sections of the provincial budgets and seats are reserved for them on the provincial councils.

In Mauritania communes set up after January, 1963, have to serve an apprenticeship period of five years with an administrative officer as mayor, before they can have an elected mayor. In Niger, the new 1965 law provides that the mayor shall be appointed by presidential decree after 'consultation' with the municipal council, but here administrative officers are not eligible for this post.

In Ivory Coast all municipal council decisions require approval at ministerial level, but in most other countries supervision over the communes has recently been delegated down to the provincial commissioners. In Senegal, for example, the provincial commissioner may (since 1964) make surprise checks on municipal accounts and, in emergency, he can suspend the execution of any measure of a municipal authority provided that he reports his action to the President of the Republic.

Senegal is the only country to have greatly increased the number of urban communes since self-government; there, all divisional headquarter towns (since 1960) have communal status but the divisional officer, not the elected mayor, is responsible for law and order and sanitation. Dakar has had a special status since 1961 and is administered on lines that appear to have been inspired by

the Paris system; one of the provincial commissioners, the *Gouverneur de la Région de Cap Vert*, is virtually the City Manager; the municipal council, though eighty strong, was deprived of its mayor in 1964 and in effect has little more than advisory powers, though it has a legal right of appeal to the President of the Republic or to the Supreme Court.

Altogether there are sixty municipal councils (including thirty-one in Senegal) in French-speaking West Africa entitled to elected mayors, and there are thirty (including ten in Mali) with appointed mayors. At least thirty municipal councils have been dissolved, for political and other reasons, and been replaced by appointed caretaker committees; in some cases, fresh elections have been delayed for very long periods notwithstanding their legal requirement within two months of the dissolution.[15] Municipal elections have not been held in the Ivory Coast since 18th November, 1956, although actually due in 1962.

There is a tendency to make the urban municipal councils correspond in status to the rural divisional councils. The areas of the new divisional councils in Mauritania are called *communes rurales* and are regulated by almost identical laws to the *communes urbaines*, and in Niger the divisional councils have since 1965 been governed by the same laws as the urban municipal councils.

Central level

The President of the Republic has taken over responsibility for internal affairs in Guinea, Ivory Coast and Senegal. In other countries, responsibility for local administration is generally exercised by a Minister of the Interior appointed by the President, although there is a tendency for supervision over local council decisions to be delegated to the provincial commissioners. Each ministry of the interior contains sections dealing with various aspects of local administration. Centrally based inspectorates are being formed or re-organised; for example, in Senegal, new inspectors-general have been appointed with 'unlimited rights of investigation', and report to the President.

Conclusion

This survey is necessarily rather summary; a paragraph is, however, perhaps necessary to explain the legalistic basis of these French-type systems, where central and local government are so closely interlocked that I have preferred to head this article 'local administration' rather than 'local government'.

There is a clear-cut distinction in all French-type systems between the executive and the legislative. At the centre, executive power is normally vested in the President of the Republic and legislative power in the elected National Assembly. At the local levels, there is a distinction between the decision-making bodies, the local councils, and their executives, who are designated by law to be either nominated administrators or mayors elected by their councils. Certain state functions such as the implementation of state laws or the registration of vital statistics are 'deconcentrated' (delegated) from the central government to the local executive, who is then responsible for these matters to the next senior authority in the administrative hierarchy. He is also responsible to the local council for executing the lawful decisions it makes on matters 'decentral-

[15] Niamey (Niger), dissolved in 1959, had not been re-elected by 1964, nor had Zinder, dissolved in 1960. Bobo-Dioulasso (Upper Volta) was dissolved in January, 1961, and not re-elected until January, 1963. Eleven Senegalese municipal councils, dissolved in January, 1963, were re-elected in February, 1964.

ized' (vested) in it by law, although the law frequently requires that council decisions on stated subjects shall require the prior approval of the supervisory 'tutelage authority' (the Minister of the Interior or provincial commissioner) before they are implemented. To avoid confusion, the powers and functions of the local councils and executives are usually set out in great detail in the laws establishing them, and there is a right of appeal if there is any dispute involving administrative law (*droit administratif*) or alleged wrongful actions by government or local officials; such appeals in French-speaking African countries are generally heard by the administrative chamber of the Supreme Court since there is seldom enough litigation to warrant the establishment of a *Conseil d'Etat* like that in France.

There seems to be a conflict, on the one hand between the desire to associate the common people more closely with decisions affecting their welfare and, on the other, the tendency of the central governments to keep a tight control over development in the interests of efficiency and the maintenance of internal security. Thus the proliferation of local councils at all levels since 1957 has largely been offset by the lack of real powers that have been entrusted to them. This problem is not unique to French-speaking West Africa.

TABLE I

Basic legislation concerning local administration (as at 1st April, 1965)

Country	Provinces (*departements*, etc.)	Division, (*circonscriptions*, etc.)	Towns (*communes urbaines*)	Villages and nomadic camps
DAHOMEY	*Loi* 64-15 of 11.8.64 (*JORD* of 17.8.64)	—	*Loi* 64-17 of 11.8.64 (*JORD* of 17.8.64)	*Loi* 64-14 of 11.8.64 (*JORD* of 17.8.64)
GUINEA	*Décret* 486 *PRG* of 17.11.64	*Loi* 4 *AN.CAB* of 10.12.60 (*JORG* of 1.1.61) *Loi* 114 of 3.9.63 (*JORG* of 15.10.63)	—	*Arrêté* 57-232*CG* of 26.12.57 (*JORG* of 15.1.58)
IVORY COAST	*Loi* 61-84 of 10.4.61 *JORCI* of 17.4.61) *Loi* 63-454 of 7.11.63 (*JORCI* of 27.11.63)	—	*Loi* 55-1489 of 18.11.55 (*JORF* 1073 of 15.11.56)	*Arrêté* 1980 *INT.CAB* of 20.11.61

TABLE I *Basic legislation concerning local administration (as at 1st April, 1965)* —continued

Country	Provinces (*departements*, etc.)	Division, (*circonscriptions*, etc.)	Towns (*communes urbaines*	Villages and nomadic camps
NIGER	*Loi* 64-023 of 17.7.64	*Loi* 65-005 of 8.2.65 (*JORN* of 15.2.65)	*Loi* 65-005 of 8.2.65 (*JORN* of 15.2.65)	*Décret* 63-190/ *MF-AE* of 19.10.63
MALI	*Loi* 60-5 *AL.RS* of 7.6.60*	—	*Loi* 55-1489 of 18.11.55 (*JORF* 1073 of 15.11.56)	*Ordonnance* 43 *DI* of 28.3.59 (on villages)* *Loi* 59-63 *AL. RS* of 30.12.59 (on nomads)*
MAURITANIA	—	*Loi* 60-135 of 25.7.60 (*JORIM* of 21.9.60)	*Loi* 60-016 of 16.1.60 (*JORIM* of 17.2.60)	*Arrêtés* 61-63 of 8.2.58 (*JOAOF* of 8.3.58)
SENEGAL	*Loi* 60-028 of 1.2.60 (*JORS* of 22.2.60) *Décret* 64-282 of 3.4.64	—	*Loi* 55-1489 of 18.11.55 (*JORF* 1073 of 15.11.56) *Loi* 64-02 of 19.1.64 (*JORS* of 19.1.64) on Dakar	—
TOGO	—	*Loi* 64-12 of 11.7.64 (*JORT* of 16.8.64)	*Loi* 59-47 of 5.6.59 (*JORT* of 14.6.59)	*Décret* 59-121 of 2.8.59 (*JORT* of 1.9.59)
UPPER VOLTA	*Loi* 3-63 of 29.1.63 (*JORHV* of 16.2.63)	*Loi* 15-64 *AN* of 30.10.64 *JORHV* of 5.11.64)	*Loi* 91-60 of 11.11.60 (*JORHV* of 3.12.60)	*Décret* 326 *PRES-IS* of 28.7.64 (*JORHV* of 20.7.64)

* *Recueil de textes No. D.L.* 2078, published by the Imprimerie Nationale du Mali, Bamako.

JORD = *Journal Officiel de la Republique du Dahomey.*

JORS = *Journal Officiel de la Republique du Senegal* (etc.). Copies of these gazettes may be consulted at the Centre d'Etudes et de la Documentation, 31 Quai Voltaire, Paris 7e.

TABLE II

Levels of local administration in French-speaking West Africa

TABLE II *Levels of local administration*

		DAHOMEY	GUINEA	IVORY COAST	MALI
PROVINCIAL LEVEL	Area	*Département** £ (6)	*Délégation* (4)	*Département** £ (6)	*Région** £ (6)
	Executive	*Préfet*	*Ministre délégué*	*Préfet*	*Gouverneur de région*
	Council	*Conseil général*†	*Conférence administrative*	(*Conseil général*†	*Commission régionale* (*Conseil général*)†
DIVISIONAL LEVEL	Area	*Sous-préfecture* (29)	*Région** £ (28)	*Sous-préfecture* (104)	*Cercle* (42)
	Executive	*Sous-préfet*	*Gouverneur de région*	*Sous-préfet*	*Commandant de cercle*
	Council	—	*Conseil général*†	—	—
DISTRICT LEVEL	Area	*Arrondissement* (71)	*Arondissement* (67)	*Canton* (271)	*Arrondissement* (229)
	Executive	*Chef d'arrondissement*	*Commandant d'arrondissement*	*Chef de canton*	*Chef d'arrondissement*
	Council	—	—	—	—
VILLAGE LEVEL	Area	*Village*	*Commune villageoise**	*Village*	*Village* or *Fraction* (nomad)
	Executive	*Chef de village*†	*Maire de commune villageoise*†	*Chef de village*	*Chef de village* or *Chef de fraction*
	Council	*Conseil de village*†	*Conseil de village*†	—	*Conseil de village*† or *Conseil de fraction*†
URBAN LEVEL	Area	*Commune** £ (5)	—	*Commune** £ (9)	*Commune** £ (15)
	Executive	*Maire*†	—	*Maire*† or *Admin. maire*	*Maire*† or *Admin. maire*
	Council	*Conseil municipal*†	—	*Conseil municipal*†	*Conseil municipal*†

KEY

Figures in brackets denote number of areas at each level, as far as they were known at 1st January, 1965.

Institutions shown in brackets exist in law but their inauguration on the ground has been considerably delayed.

French-speaking West Africa

MAURITANIA	NIGER	SENEGAL	TOGO	UPPER VOLTA
Cercle (12)	*Departement* (7)	*Région* (7)	*Région* (4)	(*Département**£ (4)
Commandment de cercle	*Préfet*	*Gouverneur de région*	*Inspecteur de Région*	(*Préfet*)
—	*Commission départementale*	*Assemblée régionale*†	—	(*Conseil départementale*)*
*Subdivision/ Commune rurale**£ (30)	*Arrondissement*£ (32)	*Département* (27)	*Circonscription**£ (17)	*Cercle* or *Subdivision/ Collectivité rurale**£ (55)
Chef de subdivision	*Sous-préfet*	*Préfet*	*Chef de circonscription*	*Commandant de cercle* or *Chef de subdivision*
*Conseil de la commune rurale**	*Conseil d'arrondissement*	—	*Conseil de circonscription*	*Conseil de collectivité rurale**
Poste administratif	*Canton* (126)	*Arrondissement* (87)	*Canton*	*Poste administratif*
Chef de poste	*Chef de canton*	*Chef d'arrondissement*	*Chef de canton*	*Chef de poste*
—	—	—	—	—
Fraction (nomad) or *village*	*Village* or *Tribu* (nomad)	*Village*	*Village*	*Village*
Chef de fraction or *Chef de village*	*Chef de village* or *Chef de tribu*	*Chef de village*	*Chef de village*	*Chef de village*†
Djimaa† or *commission de chefferie*†	—	—	—	—
*Commune urbaine**£ (8) or *Commune-pilote*	*Commune**£ (3)	*Commune**£ (31)	*Commune**£ (7)	*Commune*†£ (6)
Maire† or *Admin. maire*	*Maire*	*Maire*†	*Maire*†	*Maire*†
Conseil municipal†	*Conseil municipal*†	*Conseil municipal*†	*Conseil municipal*†	*Conseil municipal*†

KEY

* Areas with corporate personality (*personnalité morale*).
£ Areas with their own budgets.
† Elected bodies.

Quarterly Notes

UNITED KINGDOM – *Comment on the* 1965 *Cambridge Summer Conference on Overcoming Obstacles to Development*

From S. S. Khera:

This is the first of the series of Cambridge conferences that I have had the privilege of attending and it has been an outstanding experience. What has impressed itself upon me almost more than anything else is the high level of intellectual integrity, and the degree of sincerity which has characterised the discussions both in the plenaries as well as in the group sessions. A mark of this is the fact that no one has attempted to paper over any real differences. And differences there are of course. But one felt, as the debates proceeded, that we were all learning – the economists, the politicians, the administrators, the academics, the Westerners, the Africans, the Asians, all of them – that there are other points of view equally sincerely held, and perhaps no less valid; and that the practical solutions to many problems are to be found through compromise, without sacrifice of essential principle.

I have been particularly glad to see the increasing recognition of what one may term the facts of life, namely, situations as they exist, and not as one might wish to assume for purposes of development planning and implementation. These include the different political texture of different countries; different kinds of social fabric; the urge towards quicker economic independence; the existence of national policies such as a socialistic pattern of society in many newly independent countries; the almost instinctive, and driving urge to industrialise; and the policies of the so-called 'donor' countries. There simply has been no time to deal with these things, in a conference which had already bitten off more than enough to chew. I would like to see a whole conference devoted to considering what has been termed the climate of development. Also, things like political and administrative priorities, which simply cannot be brushed aside or ignored; such as law and order; defence; parliamentary supremacy and oversight; and so on.

I was glad to see the importance grow, during the course of the conference, of the population problem as a vital aspect of the development effort. Also, I think perhaps we made some headway in overcoming the altogether unwholesome, and often unreal, controversies between artificially designated categories of planners and activators, for example, the economists, the politicians, the administrators, the specialists, the generalists, the entrepreneurs and managers, and the civil servants.

I would perhaps have liked to see more ambitious effort on our part to make longer time projections into the future. The difficulties, problems and obstacles of the immediate present and the near future tend to plague us and consume one's attention.

The apparent ease, almost casual attention with which the conference has been run is deceptive, as one soon found after the conference began its course. There must have been a tremendous amount of preparation and organising

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Mr. S. S. Khera was formerly Cabinet Secretary to the Government of India.

put into it; and a running attention that is fairly remarkable. One envies, and admires, this sort of staff work and committee work.

Dr. Robinson himself is a casual seeming chairman; this is most deceptive – it hides a quite remarkable alertness and command. He could, if need be, get away with murder!

From A. H. Hanson:

Useful to me as giving new insight into problems experienced by a variety of countries in a variety of circumstances. Useful to administrators and politicians (I should think) as means of viewing the problems in wider prospective and comparing experiences (although in the latter respect more was probably learnt in the bar and over the dinner table than in the conference room itself).

Criticisms

1. Aims might be rather more precisely defined (diffusion of existing knowledge? More precise definition of issues? Cock-shies at new solutions!).
2. Groups more useful than plenaries. Former should be expanded and latter curtailed.
3. Production of 'propositions' not a good idea. Suitable ambiguities (the result of escessive compression) giving rise to unproductive discussions in plenary sessions. This could be avoided if each group presented the plenary with a reasoned argument (or series of arguments, if argument impossible).
4. Progress in plenaries would be more obvious if each stage in discussion of group reports were concluded with a reply to (or summary of) the discussion by the group chairman or by someone specially designated by the conference chairman.
5. Personnel of conference might have been somewhat better selected, from the standpoint of bringing the lights of different disciplines' to bear on the subject. The lack of sociologists, social anthropologists and social psychologists was rather acutely felt at certain stages. A man like E. Hagen ("On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins") would have been invaluable.

From Nuri Eren:

I have returned from the Conference with a feeling of having spent a useful fortnight. To be sure, development is a topical issue in every land and everywhere men are engaged with the study of the problem. But this conference differed from others in the planned effort to avoid platitudes and to focus attention on a practical aspect of the problem. Secondly, the participants were well chosen. Each brought a practical or a scholarly expertise to the discussion. The balance between the practitioner and the scholar had been well weighed. The quality of the discussions gained considerably from the right mixture of the two. Geographical distribution was well spread. Finally, the organization of the Conference fitted the purpose very handsomely. The interchange between plenary and committee meetings helped to sustain interest and to bring all the participants into pregnant confrontation. On this issue, I would have thought

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Mr. Nuri Eren a former Minister Plenipotentiary for Turkey, is presently International Consultant on development economics and Lecturer at the University of Istanbul.

that more committee work would have added to the intensity of wider individual participation.

We all left with a sense of being travellers on the same road, with a conviction that all had gained from each other's experience, and with gratitude to the British institution that had provided this opportunity. May be this is the new function of Britain in the world, providing to the British people a continued opportunity in the exercise of their leadership through co-operation in mutual growth.

From H. W. Singer:

This summer's Cambridge Conference dealt in a very immediate way with the problems confronting the developing countries. The Conference was attended by planners and theorists and administrators from both industrialized and developing countries. The broad range of participants suited the far-ranging theme of the Conference – "Overcoming Obstacles to Development" – and determined the main threads of the discussions. This year benefitted from a much greater representation from the developing countries.

The theme of this year's Conference – "Overcoming Obstacles to Development" – helped to provide a meeting-ground for economic theorists and practitioners. The important place given in the discussions to aid, and the administration of aid, helped lead to concrete suggestions for immediate problems.

The central thread running through the Conference was the diversity of problems confronting the developing nations, and particularly the obstacles placed by non-economic factors. The trend was away from simple, single cause explanations of the missing ingredient for development.

Some of the far-ranging subjects that were discussed included: the adjustment of administration machinery geared to more limited tasks than those which it is now forced to deal and hindered by the training of many administrators which accented liberal arts at the expense of technical training; the adaptation of policies and techniques of internal financing of the industrialized countries to the conditions of the developing countries; the need to broaden the view of administration to include such non-development aspects as justice, police, etc. which provide the prerequisite peace for development; and the planning and administration of aid.

Among the valuable features of the Conference was the opportunity to meet colleagues involved in various aspects of development and to discuss, in an academic setting, the pressing problems that now seek solution. The great diversity of participants, both in terms of country and specialization, found common ground on which to discuss their different views on development.

From *The Economist of* 25th September, 1965, and entitled '*Hard Heads at Cambridge*':

There is one point of light in the gloom that surrounds the present political arguments about foreign aid. This is that officials involved in development, from industrialised and developing countries alike, are increasingly speaking the same increasingly sophisticated language. This came out at Cambridge during the two-week annual conference, ending on 25th September, sponsored by the Cambridge overseas studies committee and organised by Britain's ministry for overseas development. For one thing, the conference has shown, as did last

Dr. Hans Singer is Director, Research Division Centre for Industrial Development, United Nations, New York.

year's UN trade and development conference in Geneva, that the developing countries are making more of the running in debate. In the past, these Cambridge sessions have been regarded largely as education for colonial civil servants and their newly appointed counterparts in independent countries. But this year, though a third of the delegates were British, with a sprinkling of Americans and international officials, the didacticism has gone and so has the colonial atmosphere. (This may explain the difficulty in organising two teams for the traditional cricket match.) Most of the more stimulating points were made by delegates from the twenty developing countries that took part, mainly from the Commonwealth but also, for the first time, from outside it.

In fact, some of the teachers, the theoretical economists, found they were being taught. While they made noble attempts to take account of the non-economic factors that have falsified so many of their previous calculations, their efforts tended to end in whimpers, such as that this "calls for another paper – which the mere economist cannot write". They were duly challenged and many of them felt they had been given a beating. What they were in fact given was an invitation to come out into the open, to modify their model-building and their quantifying in favour of a broader, less compartmentalised approach.

The theme of the conference – overcoming obstacles to development – helped to prise discussion into the areas where theory and practice can find common ground. Though in the plenary sessions there were the usual set pieces beginning "The *real* problem . . .", the discussion groups showed a determination to fit all the elements into the general pattern of what was termed 'administrative capacity'. Debate on this could, as in the past, have drifted off into disparagement of the developing countries' efforts, countered by angry self-defence. This did not happen. The conference stuck fairly steadily to its purpose of assembling a full armoury of policies for development.

On economic planning it came up with the simple but necessary message that planning is not just a blueprint for action but a continuing operational process. One African delegate even suggested that the operational process had to come first and that full-scale planning on the Indian model would not suit Africa until 1980.

Similarly, the most interesting things that were said on aid were about its administration. Aid, as one delegate pointed out, has been bedevilled by the disillusioning search by donors for a simple key to all the doors – first capital funds, then key investments like giant dams, then technical assistance, then private investment and, most recently, the recipients' own efforts.

At Cambridge the matter was put differently. Discussion turned on the difficult relationship between giver and taker, the part to be played by multilateral institutions and the kind of administrative machinery needed to allocate and use aid efficiently.

Britain's aid to developing countries

A White Paper published in early August outlines the future policy to be adopted by Britain in aiding developing countries. Such aid from Britain reached a past expenditure of £190 millions in 1964, and the White Paper states that the existing commitments and policies will continue to generate large disbursements in the years immediately ahead.

Two points particularly stressed in the paper are that aid should, so far as is possible, go to those countries and regions where it will have most impact on developing progress in the long run, and that the arrangement of aid should be

strengthened so that Britain's contributions form part of well prepared development plans.

While 87 per cent. of Britain's current bilateral financial aid goes to Commonwealth countries, it is hoped to increase aid to other countries and to contribute more to the international agencies as resources permit.

Reviewing the economic position of the developing world as a whole, the White Paper shows that after a period of relatively rapid rate of growth the developing countries rate of growth slowed down in the last half of the 1950's, and that with a faster rate of growth among the industrialized nations the disparity between the rich and the poor countries has tended to increase.

This has occurred despite a rising trend in official aid and private investment on account of:–

(*a*) Shortage of man-power.
(*b*) Sharp growth of population.
(*c*) Falls in foreign exchange resources.

The general downward movement in commodity prices has cut into the developing countries earnings, and agricultural production has not kept pace with population growth. More than half the population of these countries is under 20 years of age, thus population will continue to grow, intensifying the acute problems of unemployment already existing.

The White Paper notes that Britain's current balance of payments situation imposes a limitation on her present ability to give aid, but points out that the effect of aid on balance of payments rises according to the type of aid given. Other donor nations also have balance of payment problems. The White Paper favours steps to improve the international monetary system so as to shield the developing countries from the backwash of these difficulties among donor nations.

Because many developing countries face a growing burden regarding capital repayments and interest charges they cannot maintain economic growth and at the same time meet their liabilities. Britain provides nearly half of its aid as outright grants and since 1958 the terms of its loans have been progressively liberalised. In June, 1965, the announcement of interest free loans was made for those countries whose economic circumstances justify them.

The White Paper makes it clear that Britain in future will be more active in identifying those opportunities for development where aid can be most effective. Financial aid and technical assistance will be closer co-ordinated and developing countries, while free to allocate their own priorities, will be offered more help in economic studies and forward planning.

There will be a number of new initiatives in technical assistance. Although the number of experts appointed by the Ministry of Overseas Development rose to two thousand in 1964, more are still needed. Some hundred additional new posts are to be created over the next two or three years in fields vital to developing countries, so as to provide a larger pool of skilled professional staff.

The Ministry of Overseas Development will also create a corps of specialists of about one hundred who will be employed by the Ministry but who can be loaned to territories overseas, and other steps are being taken to encourage the acceptance in Britain that a professional career should normally include a period of service in a developing country.

An Institute of Development Studies is to be set up at Sussex University, and will probably start work next year. It will provide courses of advanced study on development problems. Research facilities have not been overlooked. Special

courses will be provided designed for Latin American needs such as a five-months' course at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

The White paper also deals with new arrangements for other branches of training and schools.

Service overseas by volunteers

A target of one thousand three hundred graduates and five hundred Cadet Volunteers (school leavers and young volunteers from industry) has been set for the 1966/67 programme for young volunteers to serve for a while in the developing countries.

The British Government will meet 75 per cent. of the British costs of the thirteen hundred graduates and, by agreement with Voluntary Service Overseas, the only organisation sponsoring school-leavers and apprentices, five hundred cadets.

The programme for graduate volunteers is one hundred more than the 1965 figure, which itself was difficult to meet completely. In 1966 the machinery for project selection will be improved so as to ensure that quality is not sacrificed for quantity. More frequent visits will be made by staff of the voluntary societies to evaluate what the volunteers are already doing, and recruitment will be intensified by suitable publicity.

The Volunteer Scheme has been growing steadily since 1962 when there were thirty-six graduates and two hundred and eighty-four cadets in posts. So far some 1,350 cadets have gone overseas for a tour of service which rarely exceeds twelve months, and nearly eight hundred graduates.

The Voluntary Societies Committee which was set up in May, 1962, under the chairmanship of Sir John Lockwood, Master of Birbeck College in the University of London, was given two main functions. Firstly, to undertake the general co-ordination of the work of voluntary societies in the whole field of voluntary service overseas by young people, including young graduates or the equivalent, and secondly, to maintain contact with the universities and commercial world to encourage application for voluntary service. Amongst the organisations represented on the Committee are:–

The National Council of Social Service; Inter-Church Aid and the Conference of British Missionary Societies; The Freedom From Hunger Campaign; International Voluntary Service; The National Union of Students; Oxfam; The Overseas Development Institute; The Scottish Union of Students; The Catholic Institute for International Relations; The United Services Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; Voluntary Service Overseas; The British Council and The Ministry of Overseas Development.

To increase public interest and enlist more public support the voluntary societies decided in 1964 to set up a Council for Volunteers Overseas, and the Duke of Edinburgh agreed to be its President. The Council receives reports from the Voluntary Societies and the Lockwood Committee, and advises them and the Ministry of Overseas Development on matters affecting the programme and on ways of increasing interest in it.

It costs on average £365 to send one volunteer school leaver abroad for a year and about £550 for a graduate. Of the total cost the British Government's contribution for 1965 was 75 per cent. i.e. about £800,000. The remaining cost namely 25 per cent. of the total is borne by the voluntary societies, schools, towns and philanthropic trusts and foundations.

The organisations requesting volunteers accept responsibility for their work maintenance and pocket money. Volunteers usually go to existing projects to serve under experienced workers, most of them are engaged in teaching, but they also help in social and community development, nursing, agriculture and other fields.

Much of the work done by the volunteers is exacting and demanding. These young people are called upon to work in conditions which demand a vocational approach. They are serving in fifty-six different countries spread all over the world, from Labrador to the Falkland Islands, from Togo to Thailand. They are making a valuable contribution to aiding developing countries, and at the same time gaining experience which should be invaluable to them in whatever sphere they may ultimately be working, and which will give them a better understanding of the world they live in.

Book Reviews

POLITICS LAW AND RITUAL IN TRIBAL SOCIETY, by Max Gluckman, *Basil Blackwell*, 1965; pp. xxvii and 339, bibliography, maps, index, illustrations; 47s. 6d.

Of all the important and complex aspects of development which are receiving so much attention in books, conferences and institutes one which sometimes seems to receive less attention than it deserves is the human and social aspect. Too often the assumption seems to be made that all societies will react to the same stimuli in similar ways; that to all the desire for individual material gain and economic progress is the only motivating force which need be taken into account in formulating and implementing economic development plans. It is no doubt true that different societies are tending towards a more uniform pattern than hitherto but the process is by no means complete and it is useful and instructive to turn to a volume, such as that under review, which discusses authoritatively one type of society, still numerous, and called by Professor Gluckman the tribal society.

Administrators and other laymen complain that some social anthropologists delve so deeply into traditional intimacies of habit and social structure in their anxiety to find logical patterns of behaviour that they tend to obscure changes in a rapidly changing world, especially when the results of their researches are not published, as in this case, for some years after they have been made; that they never answer the administrator's question, 'so what?'. To which Professor Gluckman replies that it is for the planner and the administrator to find the answers, but for goodness sake let them study the background. In presenting the background he takes change into account but the book is uneven because it is drawn together from essays written over the years, based on research often completed long ago by himself or by other research workers. The work ranges over a wide field, from tribal societies in the Pacific to the Eskimos, from America to Africa, but mostly Southern Africa, which is the author's own field.

From his own long experience combined with profound systematic research and study of the works of others Professor Gluckman presents descriptive commentaries on many important facets of tribal life, some of great relevance to those in whom the welfare and advancement of these societies lie. These include the economic life of tribal society, ideas of ownership, including ownership of rights in land and natural produce; mutual obligations; and not least important is a chapter on 'custom in stability and change', which includes a discussion on the effects of industrialisation, a subject on which more would be welcome.

Starting with a chapter on the history and method of social anthropology, the author continues with an excellent essay on property rights and economic activity and, quoting Dr. Audrey Richards, "We are dealing with an economic system in which accumulation of large quantities of any type of material goods was neither very possible nor considered desirable" (p. 53), but the description of the economic pattern, we are warned, must be accepted with caution in these days of rapid change though it is still widely relevant. The introduction of a cash economy is proceeding fast, sometimes with disturbing results to traditional

social security and security of land rights. Many tribal societies are changing rapidly and are in the painful process of adjusting themselves to new conditions, especially population pressure leading to disruption of the tribal economy and security.

There is a good description of how order is maintained in stateless tribal societies through formalised systems of relationship by blood, marriage, totem or other such means. One wonders how effectively these arrangements persist when sophisticated Government withers or breaks. Those who have read Professor Gluckman's 'Judicial Process among the Barotse' will find the present chapter on 'Dispute & Settlement' disappointing. The genius of the legal system is the procedure of reconciliation and compromise (p. 184), a procedure now recognized in the local courts legislation of Tanzania and elsewhere, but there is no satisfactory account of this process. It is a subject which deserves further research and description.

With all its uneveness this book deserves to be read by all who are concerned with tribal societies. There is a useful bibliography and, though Professor Gluckman is inclined to ramble at times, he writes in an easy style devoid of jargon. The book, well annotated, illustrated and indexed, is well worth the price.

R. S. HUDSON.

PRACTICAL WORK IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATIVE TRAINING, *Manchester University Press*, 1965.

The material for this booklet is drawn from personal experience gained from the organisation of the practical work programme within a public administration course over a number of years. While that course has been planned specifically for senior government officers from overseas and particular problems obviously arise, the writers believe that a strong case exists for the inclusion of such practical training not only in special but also in what are termed indigenous courses. There is little to quarrel with in such a belief as the development of a fund of human understanding is surely essential in an enlightened administrator. This will be built up throughout his career and the establishment of outside contacts during his academic training must have a beneficial influence in bringing that training into proper focus with everyday life and duties. The question is the means by which that practical work can be provided most effectively, the sources available, integration with the course itself, set pattern. All these points drawn to the importance of attention to details of travelling and accommodation are covered most thoroughly and nothing is left to chance at Manchester. The writers are satisfied, nevertheless, that training of this nature should remain highly flexible and experimental within a certain wide framework of observation and attachment. Varying forms have been tried. Work practice and project assignments were found to have a number of pitfalls and the form which clearly finds the most favour is the supervised study attachment with short observation visits and group study tours in support. The study attachment is dealt with in great detail and the importance of the aid rendered by the agencies (central and local government, industry voluntary services) is generously acknowledged. It is highly emphasised that this form of training which makes a considerable demand on the time of individuals, often of senior standing, necessitates careful and indeed, intense preparation of all

parties to the exercise if the necessary goodwill and value are not to be dissipated. From the various problems which arise, that of the language barrier is the most obvious and the remedy suggested of each party speaking more slowly and distinctly and checking to see that he has made himself understood is, perhaps, a counsel of perfection for a busy office. It is this language difficulty in a non-academic setting which must give rise to some doubt in the minds of critics of the entire efficacy of this aspect of training and it must be hoped that modern methods of language teaching are reducing the obstacle.

The authors stress the need for the practical work to be integrated into the pattern of the whole course and give useful hints on means of assessment of the practical work. They conclude on their characteristically practical note with a 'do-it-yourself' plan of training for countries where resources are rather more limited than in the wide area covered by the Department of Overseas Administrative Studies of the University of Manchester.

It is to be hoped that this small work, containing as it does a fund of well argues and practical points, will achieve a wide circulation not only among organisers of courses but also among the agencies which provide so much assistance and indeed among the prospective students themselves.

G.E.F.S.

THE AFRICAN HUSBANDMAN, by W. Allan – General Editor Max Gluckman, *Oliver & Boyd*, 1965; pp. 505; bibliography and index; 63s.

Is Africa 'a riddle without an answer'? This is a question posed by Allan at the end of his book *The African Husbandman* and one to which many of those concerned with agricultural planning would like to know the answer. Research is beginning to provide the knowledge by which crop yields could be increased manyfold, but only very limited success is being achieved in getting this knowledge applied by the farmer. A better understanding of traditional land use and its subsequent evolution will help the present-day agriculturist and the planner in their tasks. This book essentially gives the background to land use systems in many parts of Africa, although giving greater detail of practices in Zambia than elsewhere.

The opening chapters deal with the use and limitations of an ecological approach in assessing land capabilities, based on the classic work carried out by Trapnell in Zambia in the 1930's. The factors involved in this approach are covered in some detail, leading up to a method evolved by Allan for estimating the Critical Population Density under traditional forms of subsistence farming in differing ecological environments. It follows that soil deterioration will result when the balance of the Critical Density is upset either by population increase, by the development of a cash economy, by overstocking or by other means unless compensation is provided by improvements in technique. Whilst this approach is valuable in areas with relatively ample land resources and low population pressures, it must obviously have its limitations in many areas of Africa to-day where population exceeds the land capacity using traditional techniques and there is a demand for ever greater production of both food and cash crops. Any worthwhile farming system must, however, develop in harmony with its environment and detailed planning will continue to be based on a close understanding of the ecology of a region.

Parts II and III describe in some detail various systems of land use under different environments, ranging from the hunting and food gathering age and the pastoral regions to some individual systems which have evolved in East, Central and West Africa and the Congo.

Part IV examines the changes and developments that have taken place in land use in Africa during the past fifty years, includes a useful but possibly a too brief section on land tenure and reviews recent attempts at developing progressive African farmers and farming systems. The final chapter deals with the formidable role expected of agriculture in the economic development of emergent African countries.

This book is a valuable contribution to the literature dealing with land use by African farmers, bringing together much scattered information under Allan's experienced guidance. A good bibliography will enable the reader to delve deeper into any aspect which interests him. It is commended to agriculturists and others concerned with development in Africa, giving as it does much background information which will be of value to them in guiding the evolution of more efficient forms of land use.

M. F. H. SELBY.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

SORCERY IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING—A Study of Northern Rhodesian Cewa, by M. C. Marwick. *Manchester University Press*, pp. 339; 45s.

The theme of this book was sketched in a paper published in 1952, which aroused considerable interest. The present publication contains a much fuller examination supported by case material of the matrilineal social structure, and the political system that provides a background for accusation of sorcery within the Cewa community. A useful book for those who are interested in the effect of witchcraft and sorcery in the emergent Africa.

AFRICAN SOCIALISM, edited by William H. Friedland and Carl G. Rosberg, Jnr. *Hoover Institution Publications*, pp. 313; 38s. Published in London by *Oxford University Press.*

This volume includes contributions from eleven authorities on contemporary Africa, and examines African socialism both as a general phenomenon, and in its individual national forms. African socialism is seen as a pragmatic ideology incorporating features of classical socialism, communism, capitalism, traditionalism and African nationalism. The work contains key statements by African leaders, and a historically important unpublished article by George Padmore. A valuable reference book for those who find the position of African socialism difficult to identify in relation to the classical varieties of socialism.

HANDBOOK OF COMMONWEALTH ORGANISATIONS. *Methuen & Co. Ltd.*, pp. 236; 30s.

This contains a comprehensive survey of the large number of organisations in the United Kingdom which are involved with the Commonwealth. It has not been confined merely to organisations which are active in the fields of trade and investment, but includes a wide range of those concerned with the professions, services and learning in the widest sense, grouped into subject categories. A most valuable handbook which should be read by all who are interested in Commonwealth activities.

MANAGEMENT INFORMATION GUIDE 5. THE DEVELOPING NATIONS, produced by Eloise G. ReQua and Jane Statham. *The Gale Research Company – Book Tower, Detroit Michigan;* pp. 339; $8.75.

This book forms a guide to information sources relating to the economic, political, technical and social problems of developing nations. It contains a mass of factual information drawn from diverse sources held by the Library of International Relations, Chicago.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW – Volume XV, by Sir William Holdsworth. *Sweet & Maxwell Limited;* pp. 577; 84s. Edited by Sir A. L. Goodhart, K.B.E., Q.C., D.C.C., LL.D., and H. G. Hanbury, A.C., D.C.L.

Sir William Holdsworth's legal history was interrupted by his death in 1945 when he had reached Vol. XII. Subsequent volumes, of which this is one, have been edited by Professor A. L. Goodhart and H. G. Hanbury. The current volume deals with the enacted law for the period covering the Reform Act of 1832 to the Judicature Acts 1873-1875. It is an exhaustive work and the author's treatment of *laissez faire* economic theory, and its abandonment in favour of the interests of workers, trade, and the public is particularly valuable. Also included is an examination of the legal profession, law reports and legal literature and the legal education of the time is described in some detail. The volume concludes with analytical biographies of prominent legal personalities of the period. A book which should commend itself to the legal historian.

THE ROYAL CAPITAL OF BUGANDA, by Peter C. W. Gutkind. *Mouton & Co.* (Netherlands).

This book is an excellent study of the uniquely interesting and controversial *Kibuga* urban area of Kampala, Uganda. In it Professor Gutkind records the results of his research into the administrative, tenurial and allied problems of this indigenous township during its checkered history as the urban area of the Buganda capital, the magnet for traders of all races with their often conflicting interests and standards. It will interest all concerned with the problems of urbanization in Africa.

THE STUDY OF AFRICA, edited with Notes and Commentaries by Peter J. M. McEwan and Robert B. Sutcliffe. *Methuen*, 1965; pp. 444; 42s.

This is a collection of recent published and unpublished writings by authoritative authors on different facets of the African scene with linking editorial notes. It includes a useful bibliography and maps. Students of Africa and newcomers to the Continent will find it useful background reading.

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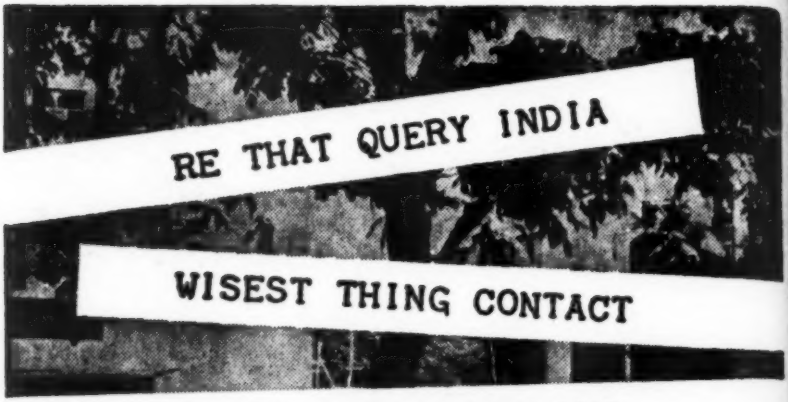

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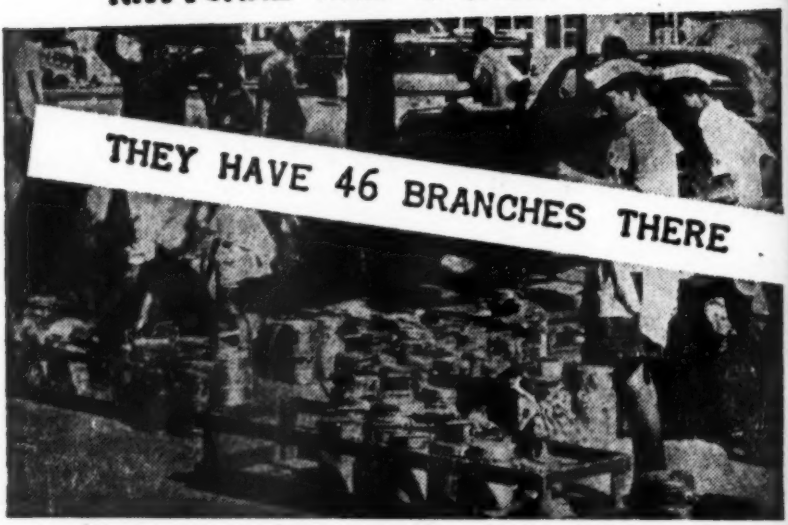

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